Rugby League World Cup final England 8 Australia 16

Australia hold cup and cards to future

Paul Fitzpatrick at Wembley

WHERE do England go from here, Phil Larder was asked after his side had experienced the deep disappointment of losing 16-8 to Australia in the 11th World Cup final at Wembley on Saturday.

The question was wrongly pitched. The concern is where the game is going. Saturday brought to an end a World Cup more successful than even the most optimistic critic had predicted. But, because of the internecine strife in Australia, the sport is not necessarily in a position to exploit the gains to the full.

Bobby Fulton, Australia's coach, has not attempted to score political points during the past three weeks. On Saturday night he was in a position to do so. His side had been labelled second-class because of the omission of players signed up with Rupert Murdoch's breakaway Super League. The only effective way to answer that was to win the cup.

They did so deservedly, not without moments of good fortune but in keeping with the standards of quality with which they have become synonymous since 1978. Fulton could afford to be bullish. "The ARL will not lose the court case and there will be no Super League next year," he said defiantly.

It was possibly the first time during the tournament that he had alluded to the battle for control of the sport in Australia currently being fought in court, between the Kerry Packer backed ARL and Murdoch's News Corporation.



Flat out for glory . . . Tim Brasher scores the decisive try at Wembley PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

Fulton's reference to the Super League dispute was a reminder that, until the issue is settled, the future of football between England and Australia is shrouded in doubt and expansion and development can be put on hold.

What this World Cup has demonstrated is that international football is the way forward for rugby league. If this tournament has not removed the scales from parochial eyes then nothing will.

The battle on the pitch did not end as England had, with justification, hoped. The World Cup has been in Australia's possession since 1975 and they are determined to keep it, like the Ashes, in perpetuity. Its destination looked clear from the sixth minute when a blunder that may haunt Phil Clarke for the rest of his days led to the first of Australia's two tries, scored by Wishart.

England never seemed to get that error out of their system even though a forceful touchdown from the dangerous Paul Newlove four minutes after half-time improved their prospects at 8-10.

Two of the game's controversial incidents went in Australia's favour, first when Martin Offiah's most dangerous run of the tournament appeared to have brought a try for Newlove. But the winger was adjudged, possibly wrongly, to have put a foot in touch before releasing the ball.

In the second half Tony Smith might have been the victim of a trip, a sending-off offence, by Brad Fittler when the Castleford stand-off looked in the clear. A score in either instance would have put England ahead.

Larder, though, put things in perspective. "A team that makes as many mistakes as ours and gives away as many penalties as we did in a World Cup final is committing suicide," said the England coach.

It was not only the mistakes and the penalties. England showed limited imagination in trying to break down a superb Australian defence. The route to victory could be through the pack, Larder had predicted, but the pack were disappointing. Betts, Clarke and Farrell chose a bad day to have their least effective games of the tournament, and little creativity stemmed from Bobby Goulding. It was all a little too tight and unadventurous.

Tim Brasher got the decisive try 12 minutes from time and Andrew Johns landed his fourth goal. This gifted Newcastle Knights scrum-half, who has proved a fine makeshift hooker, took the Man of the Match award and deserved it. There was nothing second-class about him or any of his colleagues.

England captain, Betts, later admitted that his side must overcome a mental hurdle if they are to conquer the world champions. "I would like to play Australia again because there isn't that much between us. Maybe there is a psychological barrier about winning two games in a row over them."

● New Zealand's Rugby Union Goliath, Jonah Lomu, celebrated his European debut with two spectacular tries as his team did a 70-6 demolition job on Italy in Bologna in a one-off Test.

Lomu, the outstanding player in last summer's World Cup in South Africa, was spoken to briefly by the Canadian referee, George Gajovich, after tempers ran high in the first half. But he made amends after the interval with two outstanding solo runs, scoring his first from the halfway line by brushing off three tackles and running the full length of the field for his second.

Cryptic crossword by Rufus

Across

1 A clergyman has little right to come between father and son (6)
5 Custom legislation included in the cost of goods (8)
9 Complaint of untidiness (8)
10 Am having a nap returning to the country (6)
11 Fat wedge of toffee (12)
13 Hoax article used as a tail-piece (4)
14 Last of the multi-tea blenders (8)
17 Two things aviators may do for a wad of cash (8)
18 Place where cubs may be left warm and dry (4)
20 What the man who intrudes in a row does (4,3,3,2)
23 Banger unfortunately goes the wrong way on motorway (6)
24 Hint for suffering ennui — nod off (8)
25 H (8)
26 Pointless oriental festival (6)

Down

2 Descriptive of a sharp drop in sweet production (4)
3 He shouldn't lack polish (9)
4 Untidy arrangement that would horrify Mrs Grundy (6)
5 It goes on all the time (9,6)
6 Meet primate about to postulate (8)
7 Colour and leave the dance (5)
8 A comedians' outing is usually good for a laugh (5,5)
12 An important part of self-expression (10)
15 Mother dawdles and wastes the doctor's time (9)
16 Giving attention to gin and tonic that's drunk (8)
19 Pincer movement might succeed (6)
21 Rita's out of step (5)
22 A boundary gives us the lead (4)

Last week's solution

■	W	H	A	L	I	N	G	M	A	S	T	E	R	■
Z	■	B	■	E	■	B	■	A	■	T	■	N	■	Y
I	M	A	G	I	N	G	■	J	E	A	N	N	I	E
N	■	R	■	G	■	E	■	O	■	T	■	U	■	S
K	E	T	C	H	■	V	O	R	T	I	C	I	S	T
I	■	A	■	■	■	■	■	D	■	O	■	■	■	E
F	I	C	H	U	■	B	R	O	W	N	H	A	I	R
I	■	H	■	P	■	A	■	M	■	E	■	G	■	D
C	R	E	S	C	E	N	D	O	■	R	H	O	D	A
A	■	■	■	U	■	D	■	■	■	■	■	N	■	Y
T	I	G	E	R	W	O	O	D	■	Q	U	I	D	S
I	■	R	■	R	■	L	■	E	■	U	■	S	■	M
O	P	E	N	E	Y	E	■	P	H	I	L	T	R	E
N	■	T	■	N	■	R	■	T	■	T	■	E	■	N
■	X	A	N	T	H	O	C	H	R	O	I	S	M	■

Motor Racing Japanese Grand Prix

Williams spin to new fiasco

Alan Henry at Suzuka

DAMON HILL's hopes of a late-season renaissance once again collapsed in chaos when he and his Williams-Renault team-mate David Coulthard both spun out of the Japanese Grand Prix here on Sunday as Michael Schumacher equalled Nigel Mansell's record of nine wins in a season.

Hill's nightmare began when he slid off the track in a light rain-shower while second behind Schumacher on lap 37 of the 53-lap race and came into the pits for a replacement nose section to be fitted. While doing so he exceeded the pit-lane speed limit and immediately had a 10sec stop-go penalty imposed.

He was heading back to the pits when he spun into a gravel trap and was out of the race.

A lap earlier, Coulthard had survived an excursion across a sand trap only to spin off for good two corners later.

To add insult to injury the stewards fined Hill $10,000 (£6,400) for the speeding infringement.

With Johnny Herbert backing up Schumacher by coming home third, the Benetton team clinched the prestigious constructors' championship for the first time, ending Williams's domination of this contest since 1992.

Jean Alesi mounted the only serious challenge to Schumacher with a terrific performance in his Ferrari. Both the effervescent Frenchman and his team-mate Gerhard Berger incurred 10sec stop-go penalties for jumping the start. Yet a tactically brilliant switch to slicks as the wet track began to dry out saw Alesi storming back on to Schumacher's tail only 12 laps into the race, despite being pitched into a 360-degree spin when Pedro Lamy edged him on to the grass as the Minardi was being lapped by the Ferrari.

Alesi stayed within a couple of seconds of the leading Benetton until he retired after 24 laps with a failed driveshaft joint. That promoted Hill into second place and the Williams driver briefly went into the lead when Schumacher made his second scheduled refuelling stop on lap 31.

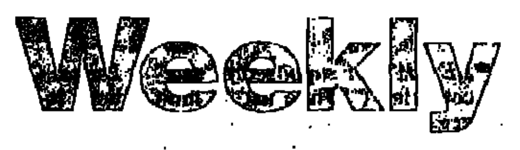
Hill dropped back to second after making his own second stop on lap 36.

Mika Hakkinen came home a strong second to produce the McLaren-Mercedes team's most convincing result of the season. Behind Herbert, Eddie Irvine's Jordan-Peugeot survived two collisions to take fourth place.

Schumacher is now aiming to beat Mansell's record with a 10th victory at the final race in Adelaide on November 12.

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The Guardian Weekly



Vol 153, No 20
Week ending November 12, 1995

The Washington Post · Le Monde

Israel stops in silent tribute as a throng of world leaders join family to bury assassinated leader

Agonising farewell to dead hero

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THEY came from across the world and from the other side of war. Some were friends, others used to be foes. They came from every part of Israel and some, at the core of Israel's grief, came from a murdered man's home.

Monday's burial of Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's assassinated prime minister, was both awesome and agonising. The vast throng of sovereigns and subjects, power-brokers and presidents, was a stupendous backdrop. But, at the heart of it, a family was weeping.

For 24 hours, the coffin had lain in state on the forecourt of the Knesset. By midday, police estimated that a million mourners — more than a fifth of Israel's population — had paid their respects.

By then Yigal Amir, the 25-year-old Jewish student who confessed to the assassination in the wake of a peace rally in Tel Aviv last Saturday, had appeared before a magistrate in Tel Aviv to be remanded for questioning. He showed no remorse.

Meanwhile the VIPs were flowing into Jerusalem. King Hussein flew in from Jordan, to the city he lost in 1967. The prime minister of Morocco came, and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and ministers from Oman, Qatar and Mauritania.

Yasser Arafat did not want to provoke controversy, so he watched the burial on television in Gaza. Yet what was happening would have been unthinkable months earlier: Arabs were coming to Jerusalem to mourn an Israeli general and leader.

Officials reckoned that more than 60 countries were represented, in nearly 50 cases by their head of state or government. Israel's own tribute was even greater. On the stroke of 2pm, sirens sounded throughout the land and Israelis stopped to stand in silent tribute for two minutes.

At Mount Herzl cemetery the 5,000 mourners stood beneath the pines and cypresses as the eulogies began.

Israel's president, Ezer Weizman, spoke, and President Mubarak, Felipe González of Spain for the Europeans, and the Russian prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The acting prime minister, Shimon Peres, was warm and generous to the man who was his rival for so long: "Goodbye older brother, farewell. We will continue to carry the message of peace to near and far," he pledged.



Unbearable grief . . . Rabin's grandchildren, Noa and Yonatan Ben-Artzi, comfort one another at Monday's funeral PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS PAQUIN

King Hussein gave a moving address in which he linked Rabin's legacy with that of his own grandfather, King Abdullah, assassinated in Jerusalem in 1951. "As long as I live, I will be proud to have known him and worked with him, as a brother and a friend," he said.

Eitan Haber, who for half Mr Rabin's lifetime was his adviser, speechwriter and trusted aide, came to the lectern last, with words wrenched from his heart.

Sobbing, he reached into his pocket and produced the sheet carrying lyrics to the Song of Peace which was retrieved from Rabin's blood-soaked jacket.

"I want to read some words from this page but it is hard. Your blood, Yitzhak, your blood is covering the words of the Song of Peace. The blood that ran out of your body in the last moments of your life, is between the lines, between the words," he said.

But the most poignant words uttered came from Rabin's granddaughter, Noa Ben-Artzi. They reduced her and many in the huge crowd to tears. "Grandfather, you were the pillar of fire before the camp and now we are left as only the camp, alone in the dark, and it is so cold and sad for us," she said.

"I know we are talking in terms of a national tragedy, but how can you try to comfort an entire people or include it in your personal pain, when grandmother does not stop crying, and we are mute?

"People greater than I have already eulogised you, but none of them was fortunate like myself to feel the caress of your warm, soft hands and the warm embrace that was just for us, or your half-smiles which will always say so much; the same smile that is no more, and froze with you. I have no feelings of revenge because my pain and loss are so big, too big . . ."

It was unbearable, yet it had to be borne. Mrs Leah Rabin, who so stoically had received the tributes of the famous, broke down.

Swathed in a traditional shroud, the coffin was lowered with merciful swiftness. Soldiers fired three volleys in salute, the cantor raised his voice for the last time, and it was over.

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Comment, page 12
Hate breeds killer, page 15

Israel must cleave to Rabin's legacy

COMMENT
Martin Woollacott

THE SHOCK of assassination pushes us back toward the magical. Is this the sacrifice that will bring the blessing of true peace, the blood that will seal the covenant? All that is absolutely certain is that a man has died. Other sacrifices — a Luther King, a Kennedy, a Mahatma Gandhi — have not, in spite of the rhetoric of the appalled moment, advanced the causes for which those leaders had seemed to stand.

The life of Yitzhak Rabin traced in the fullest possible way Israel's long learning process in the Middle East. As a young soldier mustering scarce resources against formidable enemies, as a senior commander deploying Israel's military forces against now weak and incompetent foes, as one of those responsible for the triumphs of 1967 and 1973, Rabin's career described the same arc as that of the state of Israel. That arc went from small beginnings to an apogee of power that some thought promised permanent and untrammelled dominance in the region, and down from there in the long retreat toward an accommodation with the Arab states and a settlement with the Palestinians.

Peace is best made by those who first made war. Only they understand the whole costs of the conflict over the years, only they, as their lives move on, can grasp the urgency of settling while more dangerous weapons are still a few years away.

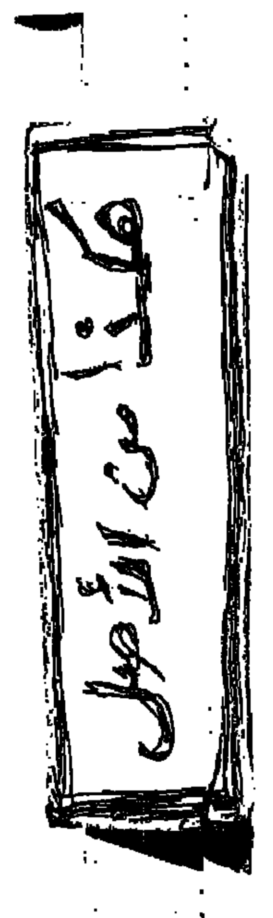
Rabin's battered countenance, the slow voice roughened by cigarettes and alcohol, seemed to symbolise an Israeli strength that was still great but had been eroded by time and amended by a weary wisdom. Caught between the reality of terrorist action, with its endless succession of bloody surprises, and the possibility of nuclear missiles becoming part of the Syrian equation, Rabin went down the road of peace not out of any late flowering idealism but because it was a better option than the alternatives.

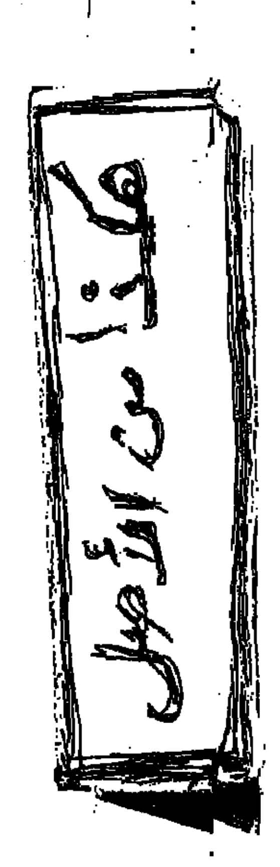
Rabin was no abjurer of force and no sentimentalist. His object throughout his life was to ensure the security of Israel. He was ready to the end to use lethal means, as he presumably did when he approved the assassination of Fathi Shqaqi, the leader of Islamic Jihad, last month. However, he faced two realities, the first being that Israel could not indefinitely bear the costs, in particular of terrorist action, of continued full occupation of the territories. Nor ought it to risk the transition to nuclear confrontation with Syria if there was no peace deal with Damascus and if Iran and Syria joined forces in pursuit of nuclear weapons.

For these soldierly objectives, land had to be traded. What a worn out expression the "peace process" is, an equivocation implying movement without necessary end, or a product extruded like sausages from the workings of diplomacy. It might better be termed a "reality process" because what it involves on both sides is not a conversion to perfect peace

continued on page 3

Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 3.60	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 400	Sweden	SK 18
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30





'White list' betrays the victims of persecution

THE LIST of supposedly "safe" countries ("'White list' to limit refugees", November 5), coupled with measures to cut benefits to most asylum-seekers, will see the complete demolition of a system put in place to protect those fleeing from persecution.

Amnesty International has well-documented accounts of the human-rights violations committed in all three countries you list. Nigeria is going through its most serious human-rights crisis in more than 30 years. More then 40,000 Algerians have been killed since the cancelled elections in 1992 and there is a spiral of political violence. In Sri Lanka, there are continuing reports of arrest and "disappearance". It is patently ridiculous to suggest that asylum-seekers from such countries cannot have genuine claims.

The Government proclaims its commitment to the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, but what we are seeing is a complete abdication of its responsibilities under international law.

The Government is scapegoating refugees in order to hide the failings and inefficiencies of its own department. Despite huge increases in personnel, the number of cases dealt with by the Home Office asylum division has fallen in each of the last two years. It is these inefficiencies that ministers should be addressing.
Jan Shaw,
Amnesty International, London

WE ARE alarmed at the Government's reported intention to announce a "white list" of countries, aimed at barring asylum-seekers from Nigeria, Algeria and Sri Lanka. Quite apart from our objections to any breach of the principle that asylum applications should be judged on their individual merits, we would strongly oppose the inclusion of these countries in the list.

The present regime in Nigeria is among the most repressive the country has endured in the 25 years of military rule since independence. To presume that there is no general persecution in a country where political dissidents have been murdered, where detainees are tortured and four journalists have just been given 15-year prison sentences is beyond belief.

It will dismay all those inside Nigeria who were hoping for support for their demands that the sentences passed by the secret military tribunal be quashed, and a realistic programme for the restoration of democracy be adopted. We hope that, if the Government persists with this unfortunate proposal, it will be rejected by Parliament.
Lord Avebury,
Chairman, Parliamentary Human Rights Group,
Rt Hon Lord Merlyn-Rees,
Former Home Secretary,
Tony Lloyd MP,
Labour Foreign Affairs Spokesman,
Menzies Campbell MP,
Lib Dem Foreign Affairs Spokesman,
Jeremy Corbyn MP,
Parl. Human Rights Group et al

THE Government's obligations under the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees are clear and include the duty to assess each asylum application on its merits. To have a presumption of safety for certain countries ousts this obligation.

People in fear of persecution will always flee. Michael Howard's proposals will only serve to send a message to those fleeing that their claims will not be fairly considered by the UK government. This is likely to be a recipe for what the Government says it is committed to stopping — illegal immigration.
Sarah Cooke,
London

AS THE wife of an Algerian national, I would like to know why, if there is only sporadic trouble in Algeria, as the Home Office and the Immigration Service would have the British public believe, the Foreign Office has issued written instructions for British people to stay away. Why has the embassy all but closed down and why do the inhabitants of Algeria have to travel to Tunisia to apply for a visa?
Aliyah Riat,
Address supplied

MY GRANDPARENTS came to this country as refugees from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century as, I guess, did Michael Howard's. Would our grandparents have been allowed to stay under these proposed regulations?
Ray Sylvester,
Ilkeston, Derbyshire

Sending a clear signal to Lagos

THE controversial trial of Ken Saro-Wiwa has been condemned by human-rights organisations and independent legal observers. It is a clear breach not only of international law but also of Nigeria's own constitution. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative have also documented the systematic abuse and slaughter of the Ogoni people at the hands of the military, using British weapons no doubt.

Nor are the hands of other British businesses clean. The trial results from the Ogonis' peaceful and effective campaign of protest against the environmental destruction and economic deprivation of the last 40 years perpetrated on them by the international oil companies and, in particular, Royal Dutch Shell.

Then came the charismatic leadership of Ken Saro-Wiwa. He gave the Ogoni a voice. Through him hundreds of groups of indigenous people have found hope in their own battles against repressive governments and huge economic interests. His non-violent leadership has been acclaimed by his nomination for the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize.

Now Ken sits on death row. His fate is in the hands of a ruthless and vicious regime. But it is a regime which sits within the Commonwealth. There is no place in the Commonwealth for such a government. The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Auckland must make Nigeria's continued membership conditional on freedom for Ken and all political prisoners.
Gordon and Anita Roddick, Rt Hon Paddy Ashdown MP, Anthony Coombes MP, Glenys Kinnock MEP, Bill Morris, Gen Sec, TGWU, Charles Secret, Director, Friends of the Earth UK, Sara Parkin and four others, Littlehampton, West Sussex

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KEN SARO-WIWA and his colleagues from Mosop have been involved in a peaceful protest against the destructive way in which oil is being extracted from the Rivers State Province of Nigeria.

Given the worsening situation in Nigeria I have written to the Commissioner responsible, Mr Pinhiero, asking for an urgent meeting. The overwhelming feeling within the European Parliament is that Nigeria should be suspended from the Lomé Convention and the second financial protocol should not apply. This would hit the Nigerian government extremely hard. On top of this we should find some way of providing financial support for community-based development through non-governmental organisations, so by-passing the military dictatorship. We should also support pro-democratic groups within Nigeria.
Tony Cunningham MEP,
Cockermouth, Cumbria

IT WOULD be a disservice to the people of Nigeria if the Commonwealth leaders meeting in New Zealand fail to suspend Nigeria. The Nigerian armed forces must be told in plain language that they can no longer have the support of the democratic world.
Imoro Abdulai Alhassan,
London

Maoris and a culture clash

AS A previous (pakeha) resident of south Auckland I am surprised at Andrew Higgins's description of these suburbs as a ghetto ("Once more are warriors", October 29). I have not the experience to compare the living conditions with an American Indian reservation but have had the opportunity to compare south Auckland with areas of London or, closer to home, western Sydney. I wonder whether any inhabitants of these cities would consider themselves ghetto dwellers!

While there are social problems in south Auckland I have always found the Maori and Pacific Islander residents generous and helpful. Many of the problems I suspect are a result of attempts to adapt the generous, extended-family-based social culture of these people to the individualistic, materialistic culture of western society.
(Dr) Jamie Day
Dunedin, New Zealand

ANDREW HIGGINS'S article paints a vivid picture of "the graffiti-scarred, crime-cursed ghetto of south Auckland, as fetid a dumping ground as any Indian reservation . . ."

So, from this we now understand that Mr Higgins has seen the film. When, I wonder, is he actually going to visit the place?

While south Auckland undoubtedly suffers from many of the problems shared by most low-income, high-unemployment areas, there are a number of things that it lacks before it can fairly compare with the popular image of the US urban ghetto.

You will not find crack cocaine available in its schools; you will not be at risk from drive-by shootings; you do not risk finding yourself in a war-zone or a police no-go area if you take a wrong turning; there are no war zones; and there are no no-go areas.
Gary Elmes,
Auckland, New Zealand

Briefly

ACCORDING to a report on Finnish radio news this morning, France has found an ally in Britain over nuclear testing in the Pacific. As we are assured that it is all very necessary, is there any possibility that we may be told who the political aggressors are? As far as I am aware, the only country frightening us with nuclear weapons is France, ably supported by Mr Major.
Raymond Hopkins,
Kruunupyy, Finland

I SHALL miss the writings of Ralph Whitlock and I am thankful to have known him through your newspaper. We are made poorer by his passing.
James Linköping,
Sweden

AS A ship's captain on long international voyages, I was amused to come home to the present debate on metrification.

On arrival at Liverpool pilot station the third officer, a German, asked the pilots what height above the water he would like the ladder: "three feet" was the immediate reply. Similarly at Le Havre (the birth place of the metric system), the Filipino second mate was told "four feet" and at Rotterdam "one to two feet". And our bureaucrats think that they can kill the imperial system.
(Captain) E J Fitch,
Lewes, Sussex

FURTHER to Peter Braunberger's letter (October 29) on the need for graphs of serious injuries and deaths in sports, I would point out that by far and away the most dangerous sport in the world on this basis is lawn bowls. The percentage of players who expire while participating is nothing short of staggering. It is high time all governments acted to curb this activity, and impose heavy fines on those hedonists who abandon themselves to its adrenalin-filled delights.
(Prof) Robert Willis,
Monash University, Victoria, Australia

IS LINDA GRANT ("Its pay-back time," September 17) speaking in Freudian (slip of the) tongue when she postulates: "The history of cinema is propelled forward by this wetting of the male erotic imagination in the person of chic murderesses . . ."?
Joseph F Quinn,
Mantova, Italy

GAUNT, grim and sinister! This was my immediate reaction to the illustration of the new British Library (October 29). Is it a modern version of Dracula's castle? Did the architect deliberately design the building to repel potential readers? It has certainly succeeded with me.
Phil Barton,
Wellington, New Zealand

The Guardian Weekly
November 12, 1995 Vol 153 No 20

Annual subscription rates are £47 (United Kingdom); £52 (Europe inc. Eire); £55 USA and Canada; £60 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985); e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

Two Israeli soldiers salute Yitzhak Rabin's coffin, draped in the national flag PHOTOGRAPH: EYAL WARHSAVSKY

Rabin legacy must live on

Continued from page 1
but a recognition of the limits of the possible.

Israel's large lead in conventional military power cannot protect her from terrorism, nor can her nuclear lead indefinitely postpone a mass destruction arms race. Palestinian capacity to inflict constant damage on Israel, meanwhile, could never bring any substantive "victory". These hard facts do not change because one leader has died.

The investment of others in peace is also large. The current Palestinian leadership would, literally, be lost without it. However imperfect the recent agreement on the second stage of the Oslo plan, it will give Yasser Arafat a tract of territory in the West Bank and an authority that can plausibly be represented as an embryo state. It ought to open wider the purses of well-wishers. The prospect has strengthened the PLO to the point where Hamas, although split, is seriously considering taking part in the new politics that will lead to elections, and even therefore negotiating with the Israelis.

The interest of the United States is obvious. To Washington's long term aim of settlement has been added the electoral importance of being able to present a trio of peace "successes", in Bosnia, the Middle East, and Ireland. Europe, Russia, Japan, all those who have some influence, power, or money to distribute, will urge that Israel continue what Rabin has begun.

The most important question is the same as it was before Rabin's death. It is whether Israeli democracy will undermine the peace. A poll taken two months ago showed Rabin and Benjamin Netanyahu absolutely level when Israelis were asked who they would vote for in the next election, due within a year and the first in which the prime minister is to be directly elected.

This equal showing for the Likud leader does not reflect widespread popular support for his belief that Israel must retain control over the West Bank, tell the Palestinians to "forget about a state", and prepare for a long struggle with Islamist terrorists. What it mainly reflects is the disenchantment of Israelis with the fact that what they saw as an exchange of land for security is not delivering security. Every time Hamas or Jihad strikes, support for Likud increases. Such support is a negative reaction to what peace has brought so far rather than a positive endorsement of Greater Israel.

The problem is one of rationality. Could Israelis once again become prisoners of a failed and foolish vision? The strategy of the right in the past, when faced with Jewish violence against Jews, has been to claim that the peace process is not only mistaken but has the additional and terrible consequence of setting Israelis against Israelis. But both main parties will use the spectre of Jewish division, even of civil war. In the short term Rabin will be honoured by a continuation of his policy, and by support for Shimon Peres, who is as responsible for the peace policy as Rabin, if not more so.

In the longer term, the mood of Israelis is more difficult to predict. Will it focus on the avoidance of intra-Jewish conflict or could it permit what was not possible before, a real assault on the twin problems of right extremism and the settlements? Will Israelis react to terrorist bombs by voting for a return to a Greater Israel, or will they see what Rabin saw, that security is the final result of the movement toward peace, not one of its first fruits?

Israeli and Palestinian societies constitute what one Israeli scholar has called "intimate enemies". The appeal of the peace process was and is that the enemies would end their dangerous intimacy by dividing the land, and could then get on with their separate lives.

The conquest of the territories, Rabin told his soldiers in 1967 "was not handed to us on a silver platter: you have achieved it soaked in blood and sweat". It fell to Rabin to hand some of those territories back, in part because there was no end to that blood and sweat. The best chance for Rabin's legacy is that Israelis will continue to recognise that separating from Palestinians is far less dangerous than continuing to try to rule them.

ANC triumphs in South African poll

Rich Mkhondo in Johannesburg

NELSON MANDELA'S ruling African National Congress (ANC) won too much power for comfort in South Africa's first democratic local government elections last week, political analysts said on Monday.

They said the ANC's overwhelming victory could propel South Africa along the same road as neighbouring Namibia and Zimbabwe where lone parties hold most, if not absolute, power.

"Democracy is a good thing. But too much power stifles debate, competence, breeds arrogance and could delay development," said Sipho Maseko, a political science lecturer.

Phil Mtimkulu, a political analyst, said: "The ANC has no real strong opposition. We are heading towards a de facto one party state, which is not a good thing for the country."

Mr Mtimkulu, a political science lecturer at the University of South Africa, said the first democratic local polls had broadened the ANC's support base, despite its difficulties in delivering on promises to the people since it took power 18 months ago.

Election monitors said with less than 10 per cent of the total votes still to be tallied from the municipal elections, the ANC had romped home with more than 71 per cent. The former ruling National Party was second, polling just over 20 per cent.

The ANC is expecting to increase its lead with results from rural areas, where it enjoys strong support, still coming in.

Analysts say even though proportional representation was used during the last week's poll, giving small parties a chance, the ANC has scored a convincing win.

Mr Maseko said the ANC had shrugged off criticism of failing to deliver on last year's promises to create a better life for the country's black majority by persuading voters to give it a second chance. "Issues of delivery did not feature in the run-up to the election. The campaign was about national issues," he said.

The ANC took nearly 63 per cent of the vote in South Africa's first all-race elections in April 1994 which ended white minority rule.

The ANC has wrested control of every major city and town, except central Pretoria where the National Party of former president, now deputy president, F W de Klerk beat the ANC by one seat.

The rightist Freedom Front, which had campaigned for an Afrikaner homeland, made a good showing, taking 5 per cent of the local vote compared with last year's national 2.2 per cent.

The more hardline Conservative Party failed to win any ground. Analysts said the right wing's overall performance proved the lie that there was overwhelming support among whites for a separate Afrikaner homeland.

The ANC's most implacable foe, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, won 0.5 per cent, although the result was distorted because elections in the party's heartland province, KwaZulu-Natal, have been postponed until next year because of demarcation disputes.

The analysts said after the KwaZulu-Natal poll, expected in March, the ANC's overall share of the national vote is expected to slip back somewhat. — *Reuter*

● Mr Mandela is under pressure at home and abroad to take a strong stand against Nigeria's military dictatorship at the first Commonwealth summit since South Africa was readmitted, *writes Chris McGreal in Johannesburg.*

Two Nobel laureates, Desmond Tutu and Wole Soyinka, are among those who have told the South African president he has a moral obligation to lead the Commonwealth against the perpetual military governments in Africa's most populous state.

PLO opens talks with Hamas

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

DELICATE negotiations are under way between the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the main Palestinian Islamist militant movement, Hamas, which could transform the prospects for next year's unprecedented elections in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

As Israel redeploys its occupation forces in the West Bank, the PLO's authority is slowly expanding to cover the main towns. For that to continue, and to consolidate his hold on power, the PLO chairman Yasser Arafat urgently needs to come to political terms with his main rivals.

The self-rule Palestine Authority is seeking to persuade Hamas to call off its military campaign against Israel and join the Palestinian mainstream. Already, PLO and Hamas officials have met discreetly to discuss a rapprochement and to boost the contacts, and Mr Arafat has ordered the release of several Hamas leaders.

Israel has quietly helped by allowing a Hamas delegation from the Gaza Strip, where the group has most support, to travel to Khartoum for talks with exiled leaders. Another delegation is expected to go to Sudan later this month to discuss the formation of a party to run in the Palestinian elections.

In another sign of reconciliation, Mr Arafat and Israel allowed Imad Falouji, a leading spokesman for Hamas in Gaza and the editor of the group's weekly paper, al-Watan, to travel to Amman for last week's economic summit.

Mr Falouji is a relative moderate who represents the Hamas wing eager to play a role in building Palestinian political and other institutions. But other, much more militant, Hamas tendencies may not countenance any deal with the PLO, let alone a ceasefire in the war against Israel.

A formal split in Hamas could be ominous for Israel and for the Palestine Authority, which desperately wants peace to consolidate its grip on the West Bank. Israel has left no doubt that if Hamas resumes its military campaign, its own redeployment could be slowed or even halted.

Ogoni fear mutes protest

Cindy Shiner in Lagos and Richard Norton-Taylor

MEMBERS of Ken Saro-Wiwa's minority rights group last week reacted to his death sentence only with words, too afraid to demonstrate their anger publicly in the face of security forces on their land and more arrests of their neighbours.

The Nigerian author and crusader was sentenced on Tuesday last week for complicity in last year's murders of four Ogoni chiefs. He is president of the Movement for Survival of Ogoni People (Mosop) and denies involvement. Eight others were sentenced to death.

"There is serious fear in the area," said one Mosop member who declined to give his name. "Some people are migrating to other parts of the land."

He said Ogonis were harassed at roadblocks and dozens of them were detained prior to Mr Saro-Wiwa's sentencing. Independent sources did not give a figure but said more Ogonis had been arrested and intimidated

The Civil Liberties Organisation last week called the death sentence "a travesty of justice" and said the verdict made a mockery of vows by Nigeria's military rulers to respect the rule of law. "The entire trial was riddled with procedural irregularities in a curious display of force and intimidation which manifested a clear bias against Saro-Wiwa and others," the group said in a statement. It demanded a new trial.

For the past several years the impoverished Ogonis have been fighting for rights to petroleum revenues and compensation for environmental damage caused by the Shell oil company.

Shell said it did not foresee a quick return to Ogoniland. "We will not go back there until there is mutual trust between us and the local community," said a Shell spokesman, Chris Folarin Williams.

Washington Post, page 15

Maoris get royal apology

THE QUEEN last week signed legislation giving the Maoris an apology for a "wrongful and unjust" land grab by whites in the 1860s.

The apology, part of a land claim settlement with the Waikato tribe, expressed "profound regret" for past plunder and promises to "atone for these acknowledged injustices so far as that is now possible". It also admitted that Britain had violated the terms of the Waitangi Treaty of 1840 between Queen Victoria's representative and tribal chiefs.

Some Maoris had demanded a royal visit to Waikato tribal lands south of Auckland as a sign of penitence, but Buckingham Palace resisted the idea. "Some people expect her to come and grovel in person for her ancestors," Bob Mahuta, the Waikato chief negotiator, said. "We don't want that. We just want her signature."

All New Zealand legislation must bear the signature of either the Queen or her representative, the governor-general, Dame Catherine Tizard.

The Week

MORE than 500 people were killed and 200 were missing as the worst typhoon in a decade struck the Philippines.

GERMANY has become a major weapons exporter, far surpassing France and Britain in most categories and exceeding the US in several, according to a UN arms register.

FRENCH police discovered a terrorist bomb-making factory near the northern city of Lille during a pre-dawn raid soon after arresting an Algerian suspected of having organised the bombing wave that has killed seven and injured nearly 200.

BRIAN LENIHAN, who held seven cabinet posts in a variety of Fianna Fail governments in Ireland over nearly 30 years, has died at the age of 64.

ITALY and Jewish groups welcomed the Argentine supreme court's decision to extradite the former Nazi SS captain Erich Priebke to face trial for crimes against humanity.

MOROCCO has become the world's leading cannabis exporter and income from an apparently officially sanctioned drugs trade is its main source of foreign exchange, according to a report by the Paris-based Geopolitical Drug Watch.

AID WORKERS in Burundi said that they had counted 103 fresh graves at a massacre site in the north of the country.

COLOMBIA'S president, Ernesto Samper, declared a nationwide state of emergency after Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, a veteran political leader and three-time candidate for the presidency, was assassinated in the capital, Bogota.

ONE US serviceman pleaded guilty to raping a 12-year-old girl on Okinawa and two others admitted lesser charges in a case that has raised questions about the future of US military bases in Japan.

BURMA'S military government is using forced labour to clean up the country to prepare for next year's campaign to encourage international tourism, according to a UN report.

MODERN Italy's most eminent statesman, Giulio Andreotti, already on trial for shielding the Sicilian Mafia, learned that he had been indicted for the murder of a journalist 16 years ago.

THE US is refusing to support the candidate for Nato secretary-general favoured by most of its European allies — the former Dutch prime minster, Ruud Lubbers.



Men on parade . . . Soldiers of the Croatian army's 'Tiger' brigade mark their fifth anniversary with a march through the capital, Zagreb PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERT RAJTIC

War crimes jeopardise Bosnia peace talks

Ed Vulliamy in Washington

THE Bosnian peace talks are in danger of collapsing over the fate of two Serb leaders already indicted on war crime charges, an official close to the talks said on Monday.

A new draft constitution for Bosnia put before leaders of the warring parties at the summit in Dayton, Ohio, includes a clause which entitles any citizen to seek elective office "except a person under indictment, or convicted by, the International Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia".

This would ban Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, from holding office. The draft also contains a condition that would lead to Dr Karadzic, Ratko Mladic, the Serbs' military leader, and 41 others being handed over for trial by the Hague war crimes tribunal.

The Serb delegation to the talks was reportedly digging in its heels over Bosnian and US demands that both Dr Karadzic and General Mladic stand down as part of a peace pact, and was only prepared to oust them if found guilty by the tribunal.

There are 42 Bosnian Serbs and one Croat thus far indicted for war crimes in The Hague, but only one in custody. Twenty more indictments are in the pipeline, with more expected over the fall of Srebrenica.

Sri Lanka curbs aid to Tamils

Suzanne Goldenburg in Colombo

SRI LANKA said on Monday it would ban international agencies from independently aiding tens of thousands of Tamil refugees because of fears that some were not impartial.

"We do not intend to permit any outside agencies, including the United Nations itself, to carry out independent operations," the foreign minister, Lakshman Kadirgamar, said.

International relief organisations that want to provide food, medicine and roofing materials to refugees who fled the army offensive would have to work through the government, he said.

Up to 500,000 Tamils have fled the northern Jaffna peninsula as the army intensifies its attack on Tamil Tiger rebels. Officials have said many face starvation or disease.

Officials and aid workers have described scenes of utter misery, with elderly men, women and children pouring out of Jaffna on foot and in bullock carts towards the east. An acute shortage of medicines, coupled with the arrival of the monsoon, means there is a serious threat of disease in the makeshift and overcrowded camps.

In the two-week assault on the Tamil Tiger mini-state — the most sustained and punishing onslaught on the rebels in 12 years of war — Jaffna is the ultimate prize, not so much for its military importance but as a symbol of Tamil independence.

The military claimed last week that nearly 1,000 Tigers had been killed and 3,000 wounded during the offensive, against its own losses of 220 dead and nearly 540 injured. The figures could not be independently confirmed, though the Tiger estimate of losses is lower.

Without Jaffna, Tiger claims to rule a de facto homeland crumble. But while government forces had punched their way to within three miles of the now largely deserted town last week, they did not appear to be advancing. Instead, soldiers are moving around the perimeters of Jaffna in an effort to secure roads leading to the town.

The military spokesman, Brigadier Sarath Munasinghe, said the slowing down of the advance was because the bloodiest fighting is yet to come, with intense Tiger resistance expected in the built-up areas around Jaffna.

Russia's liberals rejoin poll

James Meek in Moscow

CAMPAIGNING began in earnest this week for Russian parliamentary elections, after the supreme court allowed the banned liberal reformist movement, Yabloko, to rejoin the race.

Before the decision at the weekend, political debate had focused on whether the elections would take place at all. Now they are virtually certain to be held on December 17.

"There is still hope for democracy in Russia," said Yabloko's leader, Grigory Yavlinsky, who had blamed shadowy Kremlin puppet-masters bent on sabotaging the polls for the electoral commission's refusal to register his party.

The Communist Party's leader, Gennady Zyuganov, set the tone for a key election rally to denounce the government's social and economic policies. "Without social justice our country will never know peace and quiet," Mr Zyuganov said last week.

Opinion polls put the Communist Party well ahead of other leading groups in the run-up to the election.

With Boris Yeltsin looking weaker than ever, and the duma playing the key role in appointing the prime minister who would succeed the president if he became incapacitated or died, the six or seven parties capable of breaking through the 5 per cent barrier to win seats have far more to play for than before Mr Yeltsin's heart attack.

Uncertainty about who was really running the country continued at the weekend, despite attempts by Mr Yeltsin's staff to play down any handover of power to the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Both the president's chief spokesman, Sergei Medvedev, and Mr Chernomyrdin denied that there had been a transfer of power. But a planned meeting in hospital between the defence minister, General Pavel Grachev, and Mr Yeltsin did not take place as scheduled.

Gen Grachev and Mr Chernomyrdin appeared together at an event for war veterans at the Bolshoi theatre. Earlier Gen Grachev had been quoted as saying he expected to discuss with Mr Yeltsin the position Moscow would take in talks with the United States this week about Russian participation in the Bosnian peacekeeping force.

It was previously thought that Mr Yeltsin's close aides, particularly the security chief, Alexander Korzhakov, and senior assistant Victor Ilyushin, were taking decisions and issuing orders.

It would require more skill and influence than that so far shown by Mr Chernomyrdin to win those Yeltsin loyalists over to his side, particularly when the political party he leads, Our Home Is Russia, is about to be attacked as "the party of power" by other parties in the election race.

Shevardnadze sweeps back

THE GEORGIAN leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, swept back to power in presidential elections in his troubled homeland early on Monday after a one-sided but often vitriolic campaign, *writes Andrew Harding in Tbilisi.*

The former Soviet foreign minister's aides declared victory with around three-quarters of the vote from a 62 per cent turnout.

That preliminary result, which was confirmed by the central election commission, gives Mr Shevardnadze another five years in power — this time in the new role of president, as opposed to his previous incarnation as parliamentary chairman.

Mr Shevardnadze's chief of staff, Petre Mamradze, said he was "delighted" with the result, which was higher than official predictions. A major government reshuffle is expected to follow.

Another piece of unfinished business is the fate of the controversial Georgian warlord, Jaba Iofeliani, who has been linked by the authorities to a huge car bomb attack last August that slightly injured Mr Shevardnadze. Security sources in Tbilisi said a warrant for Mr Iofeliani's arrest had been prepared, and that prosecutors were waiting to see whether he would retain his parliamentary seat.

Walesa tipped to win

PRESIDENT Lech Walesa of Poland narrowly lost Sunday's first round of the presidential election, but is being hailed as the eventual winner, *writes Matthew Brzezinski in Warsaw.*

Mr Walesa, who only a few months ago had been advised to retire because of his dismal standing, now has considerable momentum behind him as he heads into the runoff round against the reformed communist candidate, Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance.

Already on Monday he had won the support of the biggest opposition party, the centrist Union for Freedom, which urged supporters to vote against Mr Kwasniewski.

With returns in from three quarters of Poland's voting districts, Mr Walesa has captured 33.5 per cent of the vote to the young leftwing challenger's 34.8 per cent.

But few were paying attention to the shortfall, because during the second round, more anti-communist forces are expected to boost the president's standing. Three former prime ministers, including Tadeusz Mazowiecki, have endorsed him, saying only he could lead Poland into Nato. Many of the defeated candidates from the centre-right are expected to follow suit.

Killing bodes ill for Algerian elections

David Hirst in Algiers

IT IS champagne for breakfast aboard Air Algérie's once-weekly flight from Beirut.

That might seem a bit unreal for the national carrier of a country plunged in a gruesome civil war, but it is perhaps not surprising. Other Arab countries with an Islamist threat on their hands have banned alcohol on their airliners, at least when they are routed to another Islamic capital. But, it would seem, the embattled Algerian regime has no illusions that such petty, cosmetic hypocrisies would help stem their ferocious, fundamentalist insurrection.

The champagne is in first-class. But even if you have a second-class ticket, it is first class you travel if you happen to be a journalist specially admitted to cover the "presidential election" which the regime is staging on November 16 in an attempt to prove its democratic credentials.

Algiers airport, with not a single foreign airliner on the tarmac, attests to the deepening isolation.

The police escort to the Djazair hotel showed up three hours late. Colonel Jamal Kadim and his men arrived in ordinary cars without official insignia. They take us at high speed into the city, whizzing through roadblocks. They murmur among themselves about avoiding the "hot" neighbourhoods where Islamists are strong.

Is this not a shade theatrical? So normal does Algiers appear, with its crowds of shoppers and rush-hour jams. And so out of place does politics, let alone violence, seem in this, one of the world's most splendid port cities.

There is no sign of electoral fervour; indeed, little sign of an election at all. The four candidates' posters are less than electrifying. President Lamine Zeroual's says: "Let us build Algeria together." The fiercely anti-Islamist Said Saadi can think of nothing more exciting than his own portrait and "With You" as its slogan. The moderate Islamist, Mahfouz Nahneh, chooses Arabic, not French, to urge "The solution today, not tomorrow." The fourth candidate seems to have no slogan at all.

It is hard to believe that up to 50,000 people have died, often atrociously, in the less than three years since the Islamist uprising began.

Yet even in the splendid Djazair hotel any sense of tranquillity is an illusion; the round-the-clock guard on this foreigners' fortress has been much increased in recent months.

And my very first, attempted rendezvous furnished tragic proof that Col Kadim's precautions are not so exaggerated. Near the Djazair is the headquarters of the Front des Forces Socialistes, a party that speaks clearly for reason and moderation in a country in desperate need of them. One of the men I wanted to see was Mebarak Mahyiou. "Didn't you know," said an official, "that he was assassinated this morning?"

But it was not just another murderous Algerian statistic. It was the first time so high-ranking a member of this middle-of-the-road, consensus-minded party has been targeted. And in the newspapers it loomed far larger and ominously than that other one, in Israel, which has so dismayed the rest of the world.

Islamists held, page 11

Egypt shuts out Brotherhood

Ian Black in Cairo

THOUGH the fundamentalists who once murdered tourists and policemen in the capital are holed up in remote villages, armed guards are still normal fixtures outside Cairo's grimy government buildings as President Hosni Mubarak tackles the moderate Islamists some say he fears even more.

In the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) offices, preparations are under way for what Mr Mubarak promises will be Egypt's freest and fairest election: on November 29 the national assembly's 444 seats will be up for grabs — by any party except the Muslim Brotherhood.

Since September, the reasons for its exclusion have been on display at a desert military court where 80 alleged Brothers face charges of incitement and of belonging to an illegal organisation. Prosecutors have raised gales of laughter with surveillance films that show only the backs of defendants, and tapes that reveal nothing more subversive than talk about the coming polls. But this is serious business: Judge Ahmed Gaballah has already sent 20 militants of the al-Gama'a al-Islamiya to the gallows.

The Brothers are part of Egyptian history: disciplined and secretive, they were crushed under Nasser, while Sadat played them off against the left. In recent years they have been allowed to operate fairly openly and to contest elections under the "cover" of other parties.

But after the attempt on his life in Ethiopia in June, Mr Mubarak has cracked down hard. "Mubarak is more afraid of the moderates than the extremists," argues one leftwing writer, Muhammad Sid Ahmed. "He sees them as the Trojan horse."

The president's supporters reject the suggestion that the smart thing would be to co-opt the Islamists, as has been done successfully in Jordan, Turkey and Kuwait. Egyptian circumstances, they argue, are different.

Yet unlike the terrorist groups — beaten by good intelligence and a brutal secret police — the Brotherhood remains popular. Its strength lies in the urban lower middle classes and the professional syndicates, and it has a reputation for being honest, with a strong if simple message: "Islam is the solution."

Contempt for the government is common. And Egypt has enormous economic problems, compounded by staggering population growth of 1 million children every 10 months. Unemployment is 20 per cent. In such conditions, the fear of political radicalism is obvious.

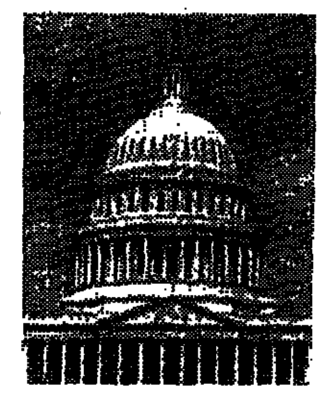
Yet even as the election banners go up, Egyptians seem apathetic and say the outcome is a foregone conclusion. No one imagines the NDP's vote can fall much below 70 per cent. "Otherwise," says a Cairo journalist, "there will be a perception that its power is slipping."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 12 1995

Will he, won't he join the dance?

BE GENTLE WITH ME NOW, COLIN!!

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The US this week

Martin Walker

COLIN POWELL has a lot to answer for. This should have been a vintage week for American politics. Ross Perot's new third party succeeded in getting on to the ballot in California, and will thus be a force to be reckoned with in next year's elections. The Ayatollahs of the Republican revolution in the House have passed their budget. The Imams of the Senate are wrestling with their slightly milder version of the great rollback of what Speaker Newt Gingrich condemns as "the liberal welfare state".

President Clinton found sufficient backbone to tell them both that they would have to await a Republican White House to get their draconian measures past his veto. He also reverted to type, telephoning the author of an interesting new book called Values Matter Most, the neo-conservative scholar Ben Wattenbrug, to think aloud for an hour or so.

Mr Clinton bemoaned the way that in his first two years he had acted "like a prime minister, not a president", and had "lost the language" of that moderate "new Democrat" ideology on which he had been elected. He had become "so anxious about the economy he had changed philosophically and missed the boat", the president opined, sounding for all the world like a man on a psychiatrist's couch.

At the same time, Ulster Unionists had their first session with Mr Clinton in the White House. The Canadian neighbour to the north appears to be plunged into a separatist anguish for the foreseeable future, and Bosnian peace talks got under way in the sealed environs of the US Air Force's Wright-Patterson Field. Just to put world events into a US perspective, it is worth noting that last year's wage bill at this single airbase, at $869 million, was rather more than the entire gross domestic product of Bosnia.

But none of this really gripped America's political classes, who are all waiting for Colin. The Republican candidates are tearing out their collective hair in frustration. The headlines should be theirs. Pat Buchanan finally slipped ahead of the field in all the polls, running a distant but still intriguing second to Bob Dole, and outdid Senator Phil Gramm in fund-raising. Mr Dole boasted that he had been against Medicare in the very beginning, back in 1966, so nobody had better question his conservative credentials. The Christian Coalition showed its muscle by pushing through Congress a new bill that would declare a doctor who performed a late abortion a criminal, the first such legislative change since the Supreme Court first legalised abortion two decades ago.

But the real news is reserved for Powellmania. A coalition of conservative groups held a press conference to warn that they could not support that dangerous liberal, General Powell. Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council dismissed him with the ultimate insult, as "Bill Clinton with ribbons". Mr Buchanan warned that if Colin Powell were to join the Republicans, then he might bolt the party and could even run an America-First, Stop-Abortion, Protectionist campaign against him.

Even the medical history of Gen Powell's wife Alma has become significant, another of the runes and entrails to be read by political observers. She has been treated for depression, making her the potential Kitty Dukakis of 1996. So runs the fever. The right-wing gadfly P J O'Rourke, who says US conservatism is about the freedom to speed down the highway in a convertible, smoking a cigar and sipping a highball, while a teenage blonde in the passenger seat starts to slip off her tube top, is now firmly predicting that Powell will run and will win. His evidence appears based on the fact that in every bookstore where Mr O'Rourke has been plugging his latest book, Gen Powell outsold him by 10, or was it 100, books to one.

Waiting for Colin has assumed an uncannily sexual connotation. This is more than foreplay; it is vote-teasing. The general cancelled all his speaking engagements for two weeks, to wrestle with his big decision. His son lets it be known that he is sure daddy will run. His wife tells her friends that she prays he won't. Old military colleagues assure us that Gen Powell will announce on Veterans' Day, November 11. The political cognoscenti ridicule the very idea of announcing on a Saturday.

William Kristol is the son of the founding couple of neo-conservatism, father Irving and mother Gertrude Himmelfarb. He became chief of staff to vice-president Dan Quayle and now edits Rupert Murdoch's latest ($54 million) investment, the new and rather disappointing conservative weekly The Standard. Mr Kristol asserts that Gen Powell will announce on the eve of Thanksgiving, probably on November 19 or 20, as the Republican governors convene in New Hampshire.

All eyes are now turned to the Powellites, the men around the general. His closest white friend is Richard Armitage, former assistant secretary of defence for international security. In his book, Powell calls him his "mentor and confidant, my brother". But Mr Armitage is the object of a particular vendetta by Ross Perot, who blames him personally for scuppering Mr Perot's attempt to wrest some presumed US prisoners of war from Vietnamese clutches. Dark rumours are afoot, of Mr Armitage's role in the Iran-Contra affair. Certainly he was in Iran at an interesting time. But he has already answered these charges, in a four-page pamphlet titled Fictionalised Accounts Of Richard L Armitage In Southeast Asia And Iran, copies of which are now whirling from Washington fax machines.

Then there is Ken Duberstein, a former White House chief of staff to President Reagan and, again according to Gen Powell, the man who ran the shop best, at a time when Powell was national security adviser. "He had achieved the smoothest, most congenial operation I had seen during the Reagan years," Gen Powell's book records. But Mr Duberstein is now rather better known in Washington for his heroic efforts on behalf of the controversial black Supreme Court justice, Clarence Thomas. Mr Duberstein ran the whole operation, coaching Justice Thomas for his Senate confirmation hearings, rallying the Republicans to discredit Dr Anita Hill and her account of Justice Thomas's sexual harassment.

Few liberals will ever forgive Mr Duberstein his Machiavellian ways. But few conservatives will ever forgive him for running the same operation on behalf of that other Supreme Court justice, David Souter. Appointed as a sound and Puritan conservative from new Hampshire, Justice Souter has since proved to be a thoughtfully unpredictable moderate, and the anti-abortion lobby on the right blames him personally for the continued legality of the practice.

Powell's son is sure daddy will run. His wife tells friends that she prays he won't

Rather more discreetly in Mr Powell's corner is his old boss, former President George Bush. Along with his vice-president Dan Quayle, Mr Bush has taken the usual oath to endorse no Republican candidate until the nomination is won, but then to support the party's nominee. Nobody has believed this since Mr Bush invited his old Gulf war comrade-in-arms to the family home at Kennebunkport this July, so that Barbara Bush could try to persuade Alma Powell that life in the White House was not so bad after all.

Gen Powell's other little helpers include his old boss at the Pentagon, Caspar Weinberger, knighted by the Queen for his services in the Falklands war, and pardoned by Mr Bush for whatever technical illegalities he may have committed before the Iran-Contra inquiry.

Of rather more political significance, because they could become credible vice-presidential candidates, are the former education secretary and drug tsar, William Bennet, now a best-selling author of an deliberately old-fashioned and improving tome on virtues, and the old darling of the right, Jack Kemp. A legendary football player in his day, Mr Kemp became a congressman, a failed presidential candidate in 1988, and then Mr Bush's secretary of housing. Devoted to the free market and to the gold standard, Mr Kemp enjoys a devoted following among fiscal conservatives.

To their credit, both Mr Kemp and Mr Bennet campaigned against the social conservatives in California who sought to deny education and medical services to children of immigrants who could not prove they were legal residents. And here is the problem. The two men most likely to give Gen Powell some political cover on the right are themselves only half-conservatives as these matters are measured in 1995. It is not enough to be a fiscal conservative, not even enough to stand up as Mr Bennet does for old-fashioned family values and civic virtues. The new right is made of sterner stuff, requiring absolute opposition to abortion, gun control, illegal immigrants, and almost absolute antipathy to taxes and the federal government.

"Those conservatives who have supported Colin Powell have taken leave of their senses. If he were a white general espousing these views, they would not support him for a moment," said the conservative activist Morton Blackwell, announcing the right's new Stop-Powell movement.

"This guy is not a Republican," snapped Oliver North, still a hero on the right despite his central role in the Iran-Contra affair that almost toppled President Reagan, and despite his defeat in last November's Senate race in Virginia. "I hope Powell lays himself bare so we can get some of the answers we have wanted to know for a long time — his real role in the Iran-Contra affair; his real role in the cover-up of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam; his role in what was done to prevent Desert Storm."

One way to understand the political complications now at work is to think back to the days of Eisenhower and Nixon in the 1950s and after 1968. Then, too, a president of one weak and dispirited party held the lonely White House outpost against the rampaging congressional majority of the other party. But despite its majority, that other party was fatally divided. In Eisenhower's day, the Democrats were divided by what was then called the Negro question, with the Southern Democrats against civil rights and desegregation of schools. In Nixon's day, the Democrats were divided by their attitudes to the the Vietnam war.

Now we have President Clinton trying to slow the Republican revolution, but the Republicans are themselves divided over how far they can take their assault on the old liberal and welfare state, and replace it with Newt Gingrich's vision of the conservative opportunity society. If a Bosnian peace agreement is reached, and Mr Clinton succeeds in getting some grudging congressional support to send 20,000 US troops to join the promised Nato peacekeeping force, then the echoes of the Nixon era may become even more pronounced. It will not take much sniping along the heights above Sarajevo, or more than the odd skirmish near Banja Luka, to make the well-intentioned Bosnian expedition into a wretched and unpopular quagmire of a war.

But then Mr Clinton is appearing more and more as the Richard Nixon of his party. There has always been a parallel between Tricky Dicky and Slick Willie, and the loathing each man inspires in the opposition is matched by a strong degree of discomfort in the loyalties of his own party.

Mr Clinton's telephone musings to Mr Wattenberg, like his incautious apology to rich Texas fund-raisers last month that he had "raised taxes too much", dismay the Democrats. Certainly he appears to be doing a feebler job of slowing the Republican juggernaut than Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon did to dilute the Democratic reforms of their day. Doubtless he will use the veto weapon against the Republican budget: to hearten the Democrats; to show his steel; because the polls say that national opinion is turning strongly against the breathtaking Republican double of cutting Medicare to pay for tax cuts; and perhaps even because he believes he should. Mr Clinton being Mr Clinton, all of these will play a part in his calculations, but so will one more consideration; along with everyone else, the president is waiting for Colin.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 12 1995

Man of war who negotiated peace

Yitzhak Rabin

THE assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, Labour Party leader and prime minister of Israel, at the age of 73, robs his country of an outstanding soldier-statesman.

A former chief of staff, hero of the June 1967 war and a nationalist of impeccable credentials, Mr Rabin devoted his second term as prime minister (from July 1992) to bringing about peace between Israel and its Arab opponents. His assassination represents a major blow to his party and country — and also to the process of peacemaking in the Middle East.

Mr Rabin was at the centre of many of Israel's military and political events for three decades. Although cold and dour in demeanour, he often heated controversy, not least by recognising the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and accepting the principle of Palestinian self-government in September 1993. He overturned almost three decades of implacable opposition to a movement which Israel regarded as "terrorist", and opened the door to mutual recognition and lasting peace.

Mr Rabin blended indomitable will and determination with pragmatic flexibility, hallmarks, some would say, of the nation itself. Yet opponents condemned him as a petty and vindictive party politician diverted by personal rivalries, and many credited his arch-rival, Shimon Peres, with being the true architect of the Israel-PLO deal.



Rabin: a great soldier and a considerable statesman and peacemaker PHOTO: ROBERT GIROUX

Mr Rabin was the first native-born prime minister of Israel. He was born in Jerusalem to an American father and a Russian socialist mother. After agricultural college, Mr Rabin, aged 18, joined Palmach, the Haganah's élite unit. During the 1948 war of independence, he commanded the Harel brigade in the battle for Jerusalem and in the war against the Egyptians in the Negev desert.

After graduation from the British Staff College in 1953, he was made head of the training corps of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) and promoted to the rank of major-general. From 1956-58, as the officer in charge of Northern Command, he had to deal with increasingly acute problems along the border with Syria. He then returned to the General Staff as Chief of Operations and, from 1962, as Deputy Chief of Staff as well.

From 1964-68, Mr Rabin was IDF Chief of Staff. He saw his principal task as the preparation of IDF for the next full-scale war with Arab states and it was during this period that he emerged as one of the architects of Israeli deterrence.

The real test came in May-June 1967, when President Nasser of Egypt seemed to be goading Israel to war. After a period of hesitation and waiting, the Israeli government launched a pre-emptive attack. In six days, Israel defeated three Arab armies and tripled the territory under its control by capturing the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank from Jordan and the Sinai peninsula from Egypt.

When Mr Rabin's four-year term as Chief of Staff came to an end in 1968, he asked the prime minister, Levi Eshkol, for the post of Israel's ambassador to the United States.

Mr Rabin's greatest achievement as ambassador was to turn the special relationship between Israel and the US, based on cultural affinity and common values, into an ever-closer strategic partnership. Particularly valuable were the links forged by this rough and unpolished diplomat with President Richard Nixon and his national security adviser, Dr Henry Kissinger. An argument vigorously pushed by Mr Rabin was that Israel represented a major strategic asset for the US in the Middle East, an asset in checking Soviet advances and in curbing Arab radicalism.

In January 1970, at the height of the Egyptian-Israeli war of attrition across the Suez Canal, he overplayed his hand by urging the cabinet to pile military pressure on Egypt. The result was only to consolidate Nasser's regime and to deepen Soviet support for it.

MORE productive was Mr Rabin's approach to the September 1970 crisis in Jordan, when Syria intervened on the side of the Palestinians in the military confrontation with King Hussein. Israel mobilised its forces on the Syrian border and Syria hastily retreated from Jordan, the Palestinian guerrillas were crushed and King Hussein survived.

This policy of sitting tight on the 1967 lines and waiting for the Arabs to sue for peace, eventually drew President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and President Hafez Assad of Syria to launch the surprise attack on Israel in October 1973 in order to break the unacceptable status quo.

Recriminations about the war led Golda Meir to resign in May 1974 and Mr Rabin, now 52, became the compromise candidate as prime minister.

He inherited galloping inflation, international unpopularity and wounded national pride. His worthy attempts to tackle social problems bore little fruit. His aim was to rebuild Israel's military power in order to negotiate from a position of strength.

The first stage in post-war negotiations, conducted by Dr Kissinger's tireless shuttle diplomacy, produced military disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt and then between Israel and Syria. The second stage involved even tougher negotiations which resulted in the Sinai II agreement in 1975. Israel undertook to pull out of the Giddi and Mitla passes and relinquish the Sinai oilfields in return for massive American economic and military aid and guarantee of oil supplies.

The only spectacular success in those dark days was the daring Israeli raid on Entebbe in 1976. Financial scandals at home ruined a string of ministers. Mr Rabin himself fell victim to the discovery of the US bank account he shared with his wife Leah in contravention of Israeli law. He was forced to resign in April 1977, on the eve of a general election. Mr Peres inherited the poisoned chalice of party leadership and led Labour to its first defeat at the polls.

The wilderness years were difficult. His 1979 memoirs blamed Mr Peres for the leak which forced his resignation and denounced him as a "relentless intriguer". Most galling was the fact that the goal of a peace treaty with Egypt, which eluded him, was achieved by his successor, Menachem Begin, of the Likud.

Begin exploited Egypt's disengagement from the conflict to launch the ill-conceived invasion of Lebanon. The messy war eroded Likud's popularity and in 1983 Mr Begin resigned, to be replaced by the lacklustre Yitzhak Shamir.

In the 1984 elections, Mr Rabin returned to office as minister of defence in a Likud-Labour coalition government. He took the lead in organising Israel's withdrawal from most of Lebanon to a self-proclaimed "security zone" in the south.

The precarious coalition split in 1990. Mr Rabin was again out of power but now enjoyed strong support from the Israeli public. After the Gulf war in 1991, American pressure forced Israel to negotiate with the Arab states and, for the first time, with a Palestinian delegation.

On June 23, 1992, the Labour Party under the leadership of Mr Rabin won a clear victory, its first since 1977.

His top priority was to reach agreement on Palestinian autonomy. The official ban on talks with the PLO was circumvented by the secret Oslo channel. In September 1993 an agreement was achieved on mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and interim Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho.

For all its limitations, the Oslo accord marked a turning point in the century-old conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, based on a historic compromise: acceptance of the principle of the partition of Palestine.

The slowdown in the negotiations between Israel and the PLO led Mr Rabin to intensify his efforts to reach an agreement with King Hussein. A dramatic breakthrough occurred on July 25, 1994 when Mr Rabin met King Hussein in the White House and, in the presence of President Clinton, signed the "Washington Declaration" formally ending the 46-year-old state of war between the two countries.

At the time of his death, Mr Rabin was in the middle of consolidating the peace treaty with Jordan and extending Palestinian self-rule to the rest of the West Bank (excluding the area of the Jewish settlements).

Mr Rabin's critics viewed him as an unimaginative soldier who was obsessed with his own country's security and lacking the vision to create a new order in the Middle East. Mr Rabin was certainly cautious and preferred to proceed with one peace at a time. But he also believed that each bilateral agreement would help make the long-term path of achieving comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

Mr Rabin leaves a task unfinished. Yet he is likely to go down in Israel's history not only as a great soldier, but also as a considerable statesman and peacemaker.

Avi Shlaim

Yitzhak Rabin, soldier and politician, born March 1, 1922; died November 4, 1995

Home Secretary falls foul of the judiciary yet again

THE HOME SECRETARY, Michael Howard, had yet another run-in with the judiciary when he was declared to have acted unlawfully in the way he tried to ban the entry to Britain of the Rev Sun Myung Moon, the Korean founder of the Unification Church.

Mr Justice Sedley ruled in the High Court that Mr Howard had the power to exclude Mr Moon, whose "Moonies" sect has been accused of brainwashing young people and breaking up families, but was guilty of "procedural unfairness" by making an exclusion order without giving Mr Moon an opportunity to state his case. The Home Office shrugged off the judgment as "a technicality" and said the exclusion order would stand.

Mr Moon expected no opposition to his visit because he had been allowed admission twice before, in 1991 and 1992. He vowed to continue his battle with Mr Howard but, after threatening to appeal against his exclusion, eventually withdrew his visa application.

The Moonies sought to present the affair as an attack on religious freedoms, but the greater issue was Mr Howard's cavalier attitude to the law. He has suffered nine setbacks at the hands of judges in less than two years, on several occasions being found to have acted unlawfully or unjustly, and exceeding or abusing his prerogative powers.

INDIGNATION was expressed by fertility experts on learning that women were being paid up to £1,000 each to donate eggs for use by a London Harley Street clinic in test-tube baby treatments costing up to £4,000. Under the law, licensed clinics are permitted to pay egg donors a maximum of £15, plus reasonable expenses.

The "human hens", often single mothers, donated their eggs to a "third party" organisation, the Hope Agency, run from a house in Cornwall, and then used by the licensed Harley Street centre run by Professor Ian Craft. Were he to pay for the eggs himself, he could face a prison sentence, but the law is powerless to prevent payments between private individuals.

A television reporter, posing as a potential client, claimed she was told at Professor Craft's clinic that she could wait years for an egg donor, but the clinic nurse said that things could be "speeded up" by contacting the Hope Agency. Katherine Bristow, who runs the agency, said her organisation was non profit-making. "We are just helping people who need help. If people think that is ethically wrong, that's up to them."

Baroness Warnock, the architect of Britain's human fertility laws, claimed that the payments were wrong and were putting vulnerable people at risk. She called for new regulations to close the legal loophole exploited by Professor Craft and, quite probably, other "third party" agencies.

THE BAN on homosexuality in the armed forces survived another legal challenge when the Court of Appeal rejected appeals by four former service personnel — three men and a woman — discharged for being gay.

In his judgment, however, the Master of the Rolls, Lord Bingham, implicitly criticised the ban, saying that "to dismiss a person from employment on the grounds of sexual preference . . . would not appear to me to show respect for that person's private and family life."

The appellants may now go to the European Court of Human Rights.

A SLOW DEATH for the high street and village retail trader was forecast by the market analysts, Mintel, in a mighty (£895) report, Survival Of The High Street.

Giant out-of-town hypermarkets have already captured a quarter of all retail sales and are expected to have 30 per cent by the end of the century. They are mostly patronised by the top three socio-economic groups AB, C1 and C2.

Only the poorest D and E groups, often old or without cars, are forced to use small local shops. But the report suggests that local butchers and fishmongers are already doomed, and offers little hope for bakers or for greengrocers who have no niche markets.

THE ARREST of a TV newsreader and mother of two, Julia Somerville, who was questioned about alleged indecent photographs of a child, raised worrying questions — about the definition of pornography and the behaviour of the police — and provoked angry reactions from her television friends and colleagues.

Ms Somerville and her architect partner, Jeremy Dixon, insisted that the pictures were innocent family shots which had been misconstrued. They were released on bail pending further inquiries. Police were told about the pictures by a laboratory technician at Boots, the chemists who processed the film, though the firm's guidelines to staff do not attempt to define pornography.

How did the press come to be informed that Ms Somerville was being questioned? The publication of her name had the effect of identifying the child, which is a breach of the Children and Young Persons Act. Scotland Yard denied responsibility, but there have been at least six cases in the past year in which the press has been tipped off about inquiries involving celebrities. The information can only have come from police sources and sold to media contacts.




Heir to the fortune . . . Jayaram Khadka with Richard Morley, who is fulfilling a death-bed pledge to look after the young man

Tycoon fights threat from Home Office to deport 'son'

John Mullin

A WIDOWED millionaire is threatening to quit Britain if the Home Office deports a young man aged 19 he regards as his son. He is fulfilling a promise to the Nepalese youth's father in looking after him, and has bequeathed him his fortune.

Richard Morley, aged 41, says Jayaram Khadka, who is privately educated, has not cost British taxpayers a penny. Mr Morley, a survival training expert with the navy, suffered a collapsed lung at 17,000ft while climbing in the Himalayas 10 years ago. He would have died but for the guide with his group, who ran down the Annapurna mountains for three days and raised the alarm.

After convalescing, Mr Morley sought out his saviour. Basu Khadka, who had a serious heart condition, refused any offer of money but asked Mr Morley to take care of his son in the event of his death.

Mr Morley and Mr Khadka kept in touch until 1990, when the correspondence dried up. Mr Morley went to the Himalayas and discovered that Mr Khadka had died of a heart attack. He set about finding Jayaram. It took him more than a month.

Mr Morley, whose wife was to die two years later and who is regarded as a reclusive figure locally, brought Jayaram into Britain on a visitor's visa, declaring he was aged 18. In fact, he was aged 14. "We realised he was much younger than we supposed the first time he had a bath," Mr Morley said.

The Home Office rejected an application in May 1991, five months after the youth's arrival, to change his visa to one of indefinite leave to remain. It was refused in June 1992 and he missed the 14-day appeal period, due to ill-health.

Mr Morley appealed in December 1992 but the Home Office said it would not be considered. The appeal tribunal is now considering whether to uphold a deportation notice. A decision is expected soon.

"It took Jay a long time to adjust, and now he is doing well. To kick him out of the country is ludicrous and inhumane," Mr Morley said.

The Home Office would only say: "When foreign nationals come over there is a procedure to be followed."

Student howlers in a class of their own

John Ezard

IF THE letters MW appear on a radio, what does it mean, asked a GCSE exam paper last spring. "Don't play it on top of the microwave," came the confident reply.

Name some key figures in the Industrial Revolution, another asked, and got the answer "Harold Wilson and Arthur Scargill".

But it is not just schoolchildren that make these mistakes. AA driving schools have reported a string of disappointing answers to oral tests.

Q: What sign would you expect to see on a country road?

A: Fresh Eggs for Sale.

The howlers are revealed in a new book, published to raise funds for the charity Comic Relief. It also reveals recent errors to which teachers must plead guilty. One school, advertising for a maths teacher, specified: The applicant should be a convicted Christian.

And a Norfolk school posted the notice: Will the individual who borrowed a ladder from the caretaker last month kindly return same immediately, otherwise further steps will be taken.

The Funny Side of Teaching, Stevenson Publications Ltd, £4.99.

Major loses Fleet Street supporter

Andrew Culf

JOHN MAJOR lost his leading questioning Fleet Street leader last week as Sir Nicholas Lloyd quit the editorship of the ailing Daily Express with an estimated £360,000 pay-off.

His departure, after 10 years at the helm of the paper, which labours under the nickname Daily Getsmuchworse, came after the paper's proprietor offered his job to two other journalists.

Lord Stevens of Ludgate, chairman of Express Newspapers, and Andrew Cameron, managing director, are understood to have flown secretly to New York to woo Martin Dunn, editor of the New York Daily News, back to London. Mr Dunn, aged 40, formerly editor of Today and a deputy to Kelvin MacKenzie at the Sun, apparently resisted the attractions of taking over a paper which has lost 500,000 sales during Sir Nicholas's tenure.

It is believed that Lord Stevens then tried to recruit the second name on the shortlist, Veronica Wadley, who quit as deputy editor of the Daily Telegraph a fortnight ago.

These manoeuvrings are said to have led to a row between Sir Nicholas and Lord Stevens, resulting in the former's resignation.

Sir Nicholas, aged 53, knighted by Margaret Thatcher in 1990, is the longest serving of the current national newspaper editors. He is said to have been angered by a decision to increase the cover price of the Express by 3p to 35p last Monday without any of the benefit being passed on to pressurised editorial budgets.

Sir Nicholas's Express gave unstinting support to Mrs Thatcher's government and the unswerving loyalty continued with Mr Major even through the bumpy days of this summer's leadership election when other Tory tabloids supported John Redwood. As well as his £360,000 pay-off, he was said to be receiving a 10-year top-up to his pension.

● Five of Scotland's principal newspapers changed hands in a double deal which earned the outgoing Thomson Corporation £172 million.

News that the Scotsman and its sister publications, Scotland on Sunday and the Edinburgh Evening News, had been bought for £90 million by the reclusive Barclay brothers was applauded by journalists.

In contrast, news that Northcliffe Newspapers, a subsidiary of Associated Newspapers, owners of the Daily Mail, had paid £82 million for Aberdeen's Press & Journal and the Evening Express was coolly received in an area with strong nationalist and Liberal Democrat links.

Fred West admitted all 10 killings, tapes reveal

Duncan Campbell

FREDERICK WEST, who was found hanging in his prison cell on January 1, last week pleaded his wife's case from beyond the grave. The jury in the trial of Rosemary West heard him admit on tape to all 10 murders with which she is charged and say his wife is innocent.

But he changed his story vastly throughout 145 tape-recordings of interviews with police, lasting 108 hours, and in one of the final sessions said: "I have not told you the whole truth. From the very first day of this inquiry my concern has been to protect other person or persons."

Rosemary West dabbed her eyes at Winchester crown court as he was heard to describe how he had killed their oldest child, Heather, to "wipe the smirk off her face".

He said he had killed many of the young women whose bodies were found last year at the Wests' home in 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, because they had fallen in love with him and had threatened to tell his wife.

Speaking in an affable, matter-of-fact way with a West Country accent, Mr West told two teams of detectives how he had strangled, dismembered and buried the women and girls. Only his eight-year-old stepdaughter, Charmaine, had not been dismembered, he said, because "she was pure".

Indicating to the detectives where they would find the bodies, he talked as if he were a jobbing builder discussing details with an architect. He showed hardly any sign of remorse or grief, justifying many of the killings on the grounds that, he said, the women were prostitutes who had insulted his wife.

Mr West said he could not remember most of their names, although he recalled the make and year of the car in which he killed his stepdaughter.

On the tapes, he said he killed his first wife, Renn, because she had come to take away Charmaine. He then strangled Charmaine when, after burying her mother, he found her asleep.

Rosemary West gazed at the floor as her husband's voice spoke of Heather, aged 16. He said he had killed her because she wanted to leave home and threatened to give the younger children acid and make them jump off the church roof next door if he would not let her go. "She had a sort of smirk on her face . . . I grabbed her round the throat . . . the next minute she's gone blue."

His wife had been out shopping at the time, he said. He had cut off Heather's head and legs with an ice knife and put her behind the Wendy house in the back garden. He said he often stood on the spot where Heather was buried. "I spent hours wishing to God she'd just come back up to me." But in other interviews he told detectives Heather was still alive and working for a drugs cartel in Bahrein.

Detective-constables Darren Law and Geoffrey Morgan, who carried out the interviews, told the court he had lied consistently. He had claimed many of the deaths had been accidental — "enjoyment turned to disaster".

Mr Justice Mantell told the jury: "The end is almost in sight". The jury will hear closing speeches this week and will probably be sent out to consider their verdict next week.

Scotland Yard tried to pull the plug on Yardie trial

Nick Davies

SCOTLAND Yard is conducting an urgent inquiry into the shielding by London detectives of a Jamaican "Yardie" gangster who committed a spectacular armed robbery in Nottingham. The man had been acting as an informant for the Metropolitan police.

Senior Yard officers even attempted to abort his trial before the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Attorney General intervened and insisted it should go ahead.

Eaton Green, aged 27, was shielded from Nottingham police by London detectives who failed to disclose vital intelligence and then fed misleading information to the Crown Prosecution Service, the trial judge and the Nottingham detectives. The CPS has now lodged a formal complaint about Scotland Yard's behaviour.

At one point during the Nottingham police inquiry, Green's handler, Detective Constable Steve Barker, allowed him to walk away from a meeting even though Nottingham detectives had asked for him to be arrested. A High Court judge who took over the case said he was alarmed by the Yard's behaviour.

Inquiries show Green, a professional gunman from Kingston, Jamaica, spent two years in London as a paid informant for the Metropolitan police. During that time, he dealt crack cocaine, robbed other dealers, and used a firearm on the street. He had no legal right to remain in the country, yet within months of becoming an informer, he had been given permanent leave to stay.

The result of the Yard's failure to disclose the truth about Green was that his first trial had to be abandoned. He was jailed for six years after a second trial last month. Sentencing him, Mr Justice Smedley described Scotland Yard's treatment of their Nottingham colleagues as "obstruction".

The Yard's official position is to deny the allegations. It claimed on Sunday that no one from the Metropolitan police had ever tried to abort Green's trial. However, transcripts of a conversation between the trial judge and Crown counsel record counsel saying that two officers from Scotland Yard had been "pleading with me to abort the entire trial and I said I was not going to".

Scotland Yard is also claiming that DC Barker did not realise that Green's arrest was being sought by Nottingham officers. However, the head of Nottingham CID, Detective Chief Superintendent Phillip Davies, confirmed that his officers had travelled to London to make the arrest.

The Yard claims to have told Nottingham police about Green's informing when they first met them, but Mr Davies said the truth had not emerged until the trial, 15 months later.

Informants were essential, he said. "However, there are stringent guidelines and procedures which must be observed if the integrity of the system is to be maintained."

£20m for shipyard too late

David Hencke

THE Ministry of Defence is poised to pay £20 million in compensation to the receivers of Swan Hunter shipyard, money which two years ago would have saved the Tyneside yard from bankruptcy and the loss of 2,200 jobs.

Officials are close to agreeing a deal after privately admitting £5 million liability in 1992 over design failures in the building of Fort George, a £140 million Royal Navy vessel. The decision to pay the money amounts to a U-turn from their public position.

Details of the MoD's private position came to light after the leaking to the Newcastle Journal of confidential letters between Roger Vaughan, joint chief executive of Swan Hunter, and Jonathan Aitken, then minister of defence procurement.

In a letter to Mr Aitken on November 10, 1992 — five months before the company became bankrupt — Mr Vaughan warned that it was heading for a £24 million overdraft by March 1993 on government work.

The MoD in its reply refused to accelerate payments and did not fully accept that the £10 million was owed in respect of the Fort George.

Now, however, the MoD is poised to pay nearly £20 million to Price Waterhouse, the receivers, a year after the yard closed. If the money had been paid in early 1993 the firm could have kept within its £10 million overdraft facility and bid for an Oman patrol boat order.

Laundry day blues for Navy

NOTHING, it seems, is sacred in the modern navy. First, the daily tot of rum was scrapped. Now, the Chinese laundrymen, long part of the navy's sea-going complement, face being replaced by machines, *writes Geoffrey Gibbs*.

For decades laundry duties on board Royal Navy warships have been carried out by laundrymen from Hong Kong. Their services were introduced to ships on the China station in 1930s and expanded throughout the fleet in the 1960s.

About 100 laundrymen live aboard British warships, eating with the company and running steam laundries that keep officers and ratings spick and span for an average wage of £30 to £40 a month.

But with the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, the laundrymen supplied by contractors in the colony will no longer be eligible to serve on British ships.

Alternatives are being examined. A new contractor may be appointed, or ships may operate what naval sources term "a self-service laundromat facility".

A coin-operated laundry is being tested aboard HMS Cornwall, a Type 22 frigate undergoing refit at Devonport, and HMS Sheffield slipped quietly into Plymouth last week after lengthy sea trials.

During the frigate's 7½ months at sea launderette-sized washing and drying machines operated in parallel with the Chinese steam laundry. A navy spokesman was unable to comment on the results.



Who washes whiter? . . . A laundryman on board the HMS Campbeltown PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SM

'Moralist' MPs kill family bill

Guardian Reporters

A SMALL group of Tory MPs from the moralist right wing of the party last week claimed their first major legislative scalp when they forced the Government to shelve a controversial new bill on domestic violence.

The Family Homes and Domestic Violence Bill, which would have given greater protection to victims of domestic violence and child abuse, had been on the verge of becoming law with all-party approval. Opposition MPs, women's rights groups and legal groups reacted with fury to the Government's move.

Sandra Horley, director of the charity Refuge, said: "This is political sabotage. These proposals have been around for three years. Women are going to suffer unnecessary violence as a result of this."

Paul Boateng, Labour legal affairs spokesman, said the move exposed the "yellow streak" running through the Government and showed it to be in the grip of "a right-wing fundamentalist rump". He said: "A bill designed to help the victims of domestic violence has fallen victim to a bloody family feud in the Tory party."

The bill had swept through Parliament virtually unnoticed, until it became apparent in the small print that an unmarried person proving mental cruelty would be able to evict his or her partner and claim the contents of a home.

Rightwing Tory MPs, including Ann Winterton, Edward Leigh, Roger Gale and Lady Olga Maitland, were worried that girlfriends would be able to take over their partner's house or flat, and that this would act as a disincentive to marriage. Last week, Mr Gale, said he hoped it would be re-introduced next session, with amendments, as "a better bill".

The climbdown is a serious blow to John Major, reinforcing suggestions that he has allowed the party's policies to be hijacked by the dissenting rightwingers. It is also a setback for the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay. One senior Government source said: "It makes our grip on legislation look decidedly shaky."

Groups which supported the bill were outraged that a measure with such wide backing could be sabotaged at such a late stage by a few MPs who had apparently just woken up to its existence.

Jim Harding, director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, said: "If the bill is not passed, we believe that the security of many children and their mothers will be at risk."

The Law Society was "dismayed, shocked and deeply disappointed" at the decision, and urged the Government to bring back the bill in the next parliamentary session "as the current law gives inadequate protection to the victims of domestic violence".

In contrast, the future of Lord Mackay's wide-ranging reforms to divorce law seems assured, as Downing Street officials insisted that the Divorce Reform Bill would be included in the Queen's Speech next week. However, many Tory backbenchers are worried that the plans to make it easier to get a no-fault divorce, including a year-long pause for mediation, will undermine marriage.

Agreement reached on public spending cuts

Patrick Wintour

DOWNING STREET unexpectedly announced that a settlement had been reached on next year's public spending plans, after meetings on Sunday between the Treasury and the remaining Whitehall departments resisting budget cuts.

The cuts will take £3 billion from the planned spending total, with the main losers likely to be the roads programme, single parents, national heritage and defence. The cuts will leave room for the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, to cut income taxes in the Budget on November 28 — but Tory leftwingers launched a fierce fightback, effectively confirming Labour's claim of a Cabinet lurch to the right.

Sir Edward Heath urged fellow "one-nation" Tories to "speak up and bring home to the Prime Minister and Cabinet exactly what it is that we want — to have one nation. The public sees that one group — a minority group in the party — is in fact running the show."

He claimed the right wing had abandoned hope of winning the next election and were preparing to grab power after defeat.

He was joined by the former Chancellor, Lord Howe, who said: "We've only just been through two or three years of putting taxes up to reduce the deficit, so any room for tax cuts would be very small and the temptation is to believe such room exists when it doesn't."

David Hunt, who was sacked from the Cabinet in the summer reshuffle, also warned that listening to the "siren voices" of the right would harm the party's chances at the next election. "It is ridiculous . . . to try and appeal to the extremes of left or right. The real battle is on the centre ground," he told BBC TV's On The Record programme.

Suggestions that the right is taking control of the parliamentary party were confirmed by a survey by the same programme, which showed that of the 36 prospective parliamentary candidates chosen so far, 18 are clear rightwingers, seven are one-nation Tories and 11 are unaffiliated.

● Plans to privatise the port of Dover, which would have netted the Exchequer around £140 million, are to be dropped by the Government.

Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, has been forced to bow to a vociferous campaign mounted by the port authorities. They played on unfounded fears that the port might fall into the hands of Calais and used the names of the Queen Mother and the wartime singer, Dame Vera Lynn.

But French officials insisted they opposed the sell-off and were not keen to bid.

As the wartime singer struck up a rendition of the "White Cliffs of Dover" outside the Commons, a spokesman for the Calais chamber of commerce said he was appalled at the "primitive explosion of anti-French feeling" prompted by rumours the French city has designs on Britain's biggest passenger port.

Direct control school closes

John Carvel

THE Government's first attempt to take direct control of a problem school ended with an admission of failure last week when a panel of experts recommended the closure of Hackney Downs boys' secondary in east London at the end of this term.

The 119-year-old school — which counts Harold Pinter, Steven Berkoff and Michael Caine among its old boys — was deemed "not viable on financial, management, educational or planning grounds" by the education association parachuted in to take over its management two months ago.

At the start of next term the remaining 206 pupils will be encouraged to switch to Homerton House, a local authority comprehensive a mile away which has more than 300 vacancies. There will be extra government funding to get this school up to scratch and special help for GCSE students from Hackney Downs to compensate for disruption.

Richard Painter, the association chairman, said: "The school contains some able and caring teachers . . . but the overall quality of education is far below what we feel is appropriate when compared with what is achieved in similar schools and what the boys deserve . . . they are being short-changed and the sooner the school closes the better it will be for them."

Problems included a poor school environment, uncontrolled behaviour by some boys, weak management and poor teaching.

"Even more serious is our sense that many teachers and boys at the school have come to accept low standards as the norm and thus have low expectations."

Mr Painter denied his team was biased. The school was in acute financial difficulties. Spending per pupil was nearly three times the national average. If Hackney Downs remained open there would have to be drastic savings and redundancies, causing instability which "could overwhelm this already fragile school".

Mark Lushington, associate secretary for the National Union of Teachers in Hackney, said it was "criminally negligent to shut a century-old school in December in the middle of pupils' exam year."

Anger over waste dump

Paul Brown

A PLAN by the Australian government to send spent nuclear fuel rods containing weapons grade uranium for reprocessing in Scotland was described as "hypocritical" by Greenpeace last week.

Hundreds of spent fuel rods would be imported and reprocessed at the Dounreay plant in Caithness to extract the uranium before being shipped back to Australia for re-use.

The Australian government has approached Britain at the same time as condemning the French nuclear tests at Moruroa and demanding that the British do the same.

The Australians would like to send up to 1,000 fuel rods, some of which have been in store in Sydney since the 1960s. Dounreay is also bidding for a bigger contract to reprocess American fuel.

It has been suggested that uranium exported from Australia to France may have been used as fuel in the current nuclear tests. Peter Roche of Greenpeace UK said: "It is ironic that the Australians are sending this atomic waste here, with their government being so critical of John Major's support for the French nuclear bomb tests at Moruroa atoll in the South Pacific. This is turning Dounreay into a world class nuclear waste dump."

The D1204 reprocessing plant — one of three at Dounreay — has been mothballed for the past year, but is set to reopen in early 1996 to reprocess 60 rods from Germany.

● A defiant Mr Major made clear last week that he would not withdraw his controversial support for French nuclear tests in the Pacific at this week's Commonwealth summit in New Zealand, despite signs that Britain's Commonwealth partners, and even the royal family, intend to put the Government into a minority of one on the issue.

Downing Street's pledge that Mr Major would not allow himself to be put in the dock came as the Australian prime minister, Paul Keating, promised to give Mr Major "a clip round the ear" over the issue, and the Duke of Edinburgh, in more elliptical terms, called for a moratorium on the tests pending an inquiry into the environmental impact of the underground explosions on Moruroa atoll.

Martin Woollacott, page 12

In Brief

THE new Proceeds of Crime Act 1995 will hit robbers, burglars, fraudsters, and other common criminals who could lose all the property and cash they accumulate in the six years before they are convicted if they have been financed by crime.

JEAN WAKE, aged 38, has died of what is believed to be the human form of mad cow disease, Creutzfeld-Jakob Disease.

LORD BOTTOMLEY, the former minister who handled the Rhodesia crisis in the1960s, has died at the age of 88.

PAUL EDDINGTON, the actor best known for his portrayal of incompetent politician Jim Hacker in the TV series Yes Minister, has died following a lengthy fight against cancer.

LIZ DAVIES, the leftwinger barred from standing as a Labour parliamentary candidate, issued libel writs against three fellow Islington councillors who made allegations to the party's national executive committee about her conduct.

WAYNE PARKER, an 11-year-old victim of bullying, was left hanging by his tie in a school gym. He was rescued by a member of staff but suffered pulled ligaments in his neck.

VIRAGO Press, the feminist publisher, has been bought by Phillipa Harrison, managing director of Little, Brown.

A MINER has been killed in the third fatal accident in the privatised coal industry since August. Serious accidents are up by more than 28 per cent, according to the first official figures by the Mines Inspectorate since privatisation.

CHRIS WOODHEAD, chief inspector of schools, has called for the sacking of 15,000 incompetent teachers as an essential step towards improving education standards.

A PLAN to sell parts of the radio airwaves used by Britain's military for a new generation of commercial radio stations is being examined by the Treasury. The sale could raise up to £1 billion for tax cuts.

TWO WOMEN may sue a hospital trust following a mix-up over amniocentesis tests which resulted in the abortion of a healthy baby after its mother was mistakenly told it was suffering from Down's Syndrome.

THE water industry spent less on capital investment during 1994/95 than at any time since the privatised companies began operating in 1990/91, despite record profits, according to a Labour party study.

Tories routed on MPs' rules

Patrick Wintour and Michael White

IN A humiliating personal rebuff for John Major, Parliament on Monday comprehensively rejected his advice and voted by 322 to 271 to make the biggest change to rules governing MPs' conduct since the war, requiring them to disclose earnings from outside consultancies.

The majority of 51 was far larger than the Opposition had hoped. Twenty-three Tory MPs voted with Labour for disclosure and another 31 abstained or did not vote, including Mr Major and his Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, who were in Israel for the funeral of Yitzhak Rabin. The rest of the Tory front bench voted en masse for continued privacy.

MPs must now divulge earnings by the end of March and observe a ban on acting as paid advocates on behalf of outside interests.

Demoralised Tory MPs, hounded by accusations of sleaze for the past two years, claimed the changes amounted to a cultural revolution at Westminster and predicted the era of the professional full-time MP would arrive within a decade.

But Tony Newton, Leader of the Commons and chairman of the select committee whose recommendations were before the House, denied the result was a blow to Mr Major's authority. "I don't think [he] will see this as some kind of defeat. He accepted the broad thrust of the Nolan report."

MPs this week voted to:

- Require MPs to disclose earnings in bands from all consultancies derived from Parliament
- Ban paid advocacy by all MPs, including tabling questions, motions and amendments to legislation
- Restrict MPs' right to speak in debates on behalf of outside paid interests
- Register details of all contracts with a new parliamentary commissioner by March 31 next year
- Appoint a new powerful parliamentary commissioner for standards
- Approve in principle a code of conduct

The Tory rout, gathering force throughout the day, occurred largely due to jitters among Tory MPs, especially in marginal seats.

They pulled back from supporting Mr Major, on what was technically a free vote, in the face of a huge weekend Labour propaganda campaign and fresh evidence of Tory sleaze, including allegations that Barry Porter, the Tory MP for Wirral South, had been willing to take £1,500 to arrange ministerial meetings.

By 587 to 2, MPs also voted, despite the qualms of some Tory backbenchers, to ban paid advocacy — which will stop MPs tabling amendments, motions or written questions on behalf of outside interests.

In addition, MPs voted 289 to 264 to ban MPs with paid outside interests from participating in any delegation on behalf of that interest.

Tory whips largely restrained themselves from lobbying to maintain privacy, despite Mr Major's political exposure, leaving much of the arm-twisting to such senior Tories as Sir Archie Hamilton and Sir Terence Higgins.

The reshaped Labour whips' office, under Donald Dewar, ran a frantic whipping operation and had to reroute Labour MPs George Galloway and Tony Worthington, stranded by an industrial dispute in Glasgow.

Facing a technical government majority of six, if all non-Conservative MPs voted against the Government, Labour's chances looked slim when only two of the nine Ulster Unionist Party MPs turned up. Their leader, David Trimble, abstained.

The shadow leader of the house, Ann Taylor, called the vote "a very good night for the reputation of Parliament and a terrible night for the reputation of John Major".

But she added a majority of Tory MPs had still refused to accept Lord Nolan's advice.

The Liberal Democrats claimed the result showed Mr Major was out of touch with the country and out of control of his party.

Tory MP Emma Nicholson said she had backed the Labour amendment because "we have been let down by some people. I say 'publish and be damned'."

Ex-cabinet minister John Biffen said: "It's no longer just a question of a club looking at the suggestions box and seeing if things can be done rather better. There is an outside powerful mood of anxiety about how we perform."

Another of the rebels, David Martin, said: "[We] rescued the party from itself as well as the position of the Government from itself."

David Wilshire, an advocate of disclosure after the election, insisted he was not voting against his friends or his government. "I am voting against sleaze," he said.

But an opponent of disclosure threatened to ignore the new rules. Sir Michael Neubert, Tory MP for Romford, said: "I do have to think very carefully about whether I observe this new rule of the House. It's not the law of the land."

Before the vote some Tories had indicated that they may stand down at the next election rather than face public scrutiny.



Nessan Quinlivan leaves court in police custody after being remanded

Freed IRA pair in court

Guardian Reporters

TWO IRA men who escaped from Brixton prison were freed in the Irish Republic on Monday and immediately re-arrested on extradition warrants.

Nessan Quinlivan and Pearse McCauley were released from Portlaoise prison at dawn, and were immediately driven 50 miles under heavy security to Dublin, to face warrants issued by Scotland Yard that they be extradited to England.

The pair, both aged 30, were released with two other IRA men, Mark Farrell and Gerry Kearns, as part of the Dublin government's continuing response to the Northern Ireland peace process.

Quinlivan and McCauley later appeared at the Irish district court, in the top security headquarters of Dublin's anti-terrorist court. They each faced four warrants for their extradition in connection with their escape from Brixton prison in 1991.

Security sources in Britain say they made it clear to the Irish authorities that they would be very upset if the men were released without being submitted to extradition proceedings. What happens to the pair is seen as a test of where the two governments stand in terms of co-operation on the peace process.

Republicans said the serving of the warrants was a negative development. The Sinn Fein vice-president, Pat Doherty, said it again highlighted the "begrudging" attitude of the British government to the whole issue of "political" prisoners.

The extradition battle could last more than a year because the men have the right to appeal.

Algerian terror suspects held

Richard Norton-Taylor

POLICE on Monday were holding five Algerians in London, four of them in connection with recent terrorist attacks in France. They include Abdelkadir Benouif, alias Abou Fares, alleged to have discussed the attacks over the telephone with Boualem Bensaid, arrested in Paris last week.

Police have applied to the Home Secretary to allow them to continue to hold Benouif under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. He was arrested after the French newspaper Le Monde alleged he was a key figure behind the three-month bombing campaign which has killed seven in France.

But security sources said that the French had still not applied for his extradition. Benouif, who applied for political asylum in Britain, was sentenced to death *in absentia* for his alleged role in a bombing at Algiers airport in 1992 which killed nine people.

One Algerian arrested last Saturday is believed to be Farouk Deneche, the brother of Abdelkrim Deneche, whom France unsuccessfully tried to have extradited from Sweden last month in connection with the Paris Metro bombing in July. Farouk Deneche is understood to have been released, then re-arrested for an alleged breach of immigration rules.

Of the four others arrested, one has been released. The three others are being held at a police station in central London.

Nurses hit by racism

David Brindle

RACIAL ABUSE of black and Asian nurses by patients is widespread, a study for the Department of Health has found.

Some community nurses and midwives from ethnic minority groups have had doors slammed in their faces by white patients, according to the study published last week by the independent Policy Studies Institute.

"In every case study area looked at, and in nearly every speciality within these areas, ethnic minority nurses reported having been racially harassed by patients. Despite this, they were expected not to 'make a fuss' and to get on with their jobs. They did not have the right to refuse treating the racist patients who were making their working lives so difficult."

The study, the most comprehensive of its kind, looked in detail at six health units and involved 114 interviews with nursing staff and 42 interviews with managers.

Black and Asian staff reported verbal abuse and a minority reported worse harassment — trends confirmed by white colleagues.

One ethnic minority nurse said a white patient had told her: "Don't touch me, you black cow." Another reported a white patient saying: "Take your dirty hands off me."

Ethnic minority staff were often discriminated against by employers. They were typically older than white colleagues and were concentrated in less glamorous specialties like mental illness, learning disability, and care of the elderly.

Let peace be Rabin's epitaph

THE SONG of peace was the last aspiration that Yitzhak Rabin uttered in his gravelly voice. The Israeli prime minister was no dove, but he had made a historic transition — the simple but difficult leap from imposing solutions by force to seeking them by negotiation. What happened after last Saturday's peace rally was unpredictable, and yet once it had happened far from unimaginable. If Mr Rabin were to be assassinated, a Jewish bullet was always more likely than an Arab one. Monday was the occasion for national and international grief and a joint recommitment to the peace process. Now Israel will have to think much harder — and take much harder measures — to tackle the extremism in its midst.

Probably only a soldier turned statesman could, in this society, have won the initial confidence to pursue the peace track of Oslo and Washington. At first Mr Rabin, though convinced that there had been "enough of blood and tears", held aloof from the full implications of accepting Palestinians as Palestinians. He said it was not easy for others: it was hard for him too. As the Israeli press noted, the "stomach ache" when he shook Mr Arafat's hand for the first time had disappeared completely. Over the past two years his doubts about the PLO leader's credibility as a partner evaporated — Mr Arafat was similarly converted to the Israeli prime minister and was visibly shocked at the news of his death. It remains true that the engine which drove the peace process forward was Shimon Peres while Mr Rabin guided from a distance. If the assassin had succeeded — as he apparently intended — in removing both leaders then the future would be even bleaker.

Yigal Amir, the law student who killed Mr Rabin, is said in the familiar phrase to have been "acting on his own" in answer to what he claimed was the dictate of God. That does not absolve those in Israel who have fostered a climate of intolerance and extremism from examining their own consciences with great care. Mr Amir has been identified at many ultra-right rallies in defence of illegal settlements on the West Bank. He was at home in a climate of hate where placards were held up describing Mr Rabin as a member of the Nazi SS, a murderer and a traitor. The religious chauvinism of these movements is a mortal threat that must be resisted. There can be no rational discourse with those who maintain that the land occupied temporarily by the army in 1967 was bestowed on Israel for all time by a covenant between Abraham and God. Mr Rabin in recent months had the courage to pour scorn on the more outrageous claims of the settlers and to say firmly that some of their locations were untenable. His political adversary, the Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu, has recently urged the settlers to avoid violent action. But Likud supports their illegal settlements and Likud banners have been festooned at their sites. Politicians of the right cannot deny a measure of responsibility for shifting the spectrum in a direction which profits the ultra-right, especially when they appear to condone some fanatical actions. Likud has also declared it will not necessarily honour all agreements reached with the PLO if it regains power in next year's elections. This violates a basic responsibility of successor governments as well as sustaining the settlers' fantasies. Mr Netanyahu must move his party firmly into the middle so that it no longer provides a respectable flank for extremism.

The question which will be asked insistently now is where the peace process goes from here. Critics on both sides have denounced Mr Rabin and Mr Arafat for compromising to the point of capitulation: both allegations cannot be right. The apparent defects of tardy timing and unresolved loose ends really indicate that this has been a true negotiating process which leads by definition to positions which are bound to be less than maximal aims. There is some sleight of hand on each side: the Palestinian negotiators assure their supporters that concessions now are worthwhile steps towards the ultimate goal of statehood. Mr Rabin and Mr Peres have relied even more on creative ambiguity, insisting that nothing conceded now prejudges the ultimate final settlement. Yet the real logic of this process can only lead to a Palestinian entity with full authority over the West Bank. Special arrangements over a few settlements might be agreed but the problems in Gaza show that the Swiss cheese approach to map-drawing will never work. No one — least of all the Likud opposition — has suggested any viable alternative to moving ahead on this track. What has already been established, and is being added to in the new stage of Israeli redeployment, is a shoot which must grow or be crushed. The second option can only mean a return to a new and more deadly bout of resistance and repression.

Violence and the threat of it has of course been interwoven with this process from the start, immensely complicating the task on both sides. The hostile reaction of militant Arab opinion is not surprising. It is also a matter of hard fact that Mr Rabin accepted assassination as a method of state violence against Israel's enemies — a dubious proposition both in tactical and moral terms. But negotiated peace remains the only way of short-cutting the vicious circle of violence. There are hopeful signs too of a dialogue between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas which could establish a *modus vivendi* in the areas under Palestinian self-rule and possible Hamas participation in the elections next year.

The responsibility now rests on everyone in the negotiations and on the sidelines. Conventional wisdom is already predicting that there will be a period of inaction. It should be argued instead that this tragedy has created an opportunity to push ahead while opposition is muted. Mr Peres and Mr Arafat will now resume negotiations knowing they have only a few months left. It would be doubly ironic if a Jewish fanatic's bullet succeeded, where Arab terrorist bombs have failed, in destroying the chance for peace.

Quebec back from the brink

QUEBEC'S narrowly decided "Non" is far from decisive: the relief it brings to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is only relative to the catastrophic impact it would have had if less than 1 per cent of the electorate had voted the other way. The separatists remain in power with time enough to renew their campaign and the satisfaction of having whittled the gap in public opinion almost to vanishing point. Mr Chrétien now has to reconcile the political need to meet some of their demands with the requirements of fiscal orthodoxy and foreign investors. He must justify his belated pledges to resume a quest for constitutional reform which has been unpalatable to the rest of Canada.

Yet the problems are by no means confined to those who seek to maintain a single, federal Canadian nation. There can be no real triumph for either side in a vote which signifies such a deeply divided society. These divisions are not just between those holding opposed views: they reflect the agonising uncertainty of many individuals who were only compelled by the act of ballot to make up their minds.

The cultural factor of course remains significant. Here it is rooted in a characteristically passionate sense of francophone identity. The Declaration of Sovereignty, tabled in the Quebec National Assembly by Prime Minister Jacques Parizeau together with the referendum question, is a remarkable document. The time has come, it begins, to reap the fields of history, to achieve the promise of those 17th century pioneers who rooted themselves in the soil of Quebec. It hails a land whose heart beats in French and a language which celebrates "our love, our beliefs and our dreams". It declares its intention of bringing to an end the "wintery cold" of federalism. The Québécois have a case in complaining of the diminution of their special status since the establishment of the fully sovereign constitution in 1982. Twice in this decade the rest of Canada has rejected constitutional arrangements which would have restored to Quebec the status of a "distinct society".

With the right arrangements, a split can still be avoided. Indeed the near-success of the separatists was only achieved after the Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard took control of their campaign, arguing that an independent Quebec could still maintain close links with Canada and remain as part of Nafta. George Kennan, writing of the end of the Soviet Union (in the current New York Review of Books), deplores the lack of an "intermediate status" between unreal independence and subordination to a larger and more powerful state. It may have been beyond reach in the disintegrating Soviet empire. Canada can still fashion a halfway deal but it depends as much on the rest of the country as on Quebec.

Democracy over a barrel in Auckland

Martin Woollacott

ALONG the narrow roads of the Jaffna peninsula, the Sri Lankan army is bloodily pushing forward, killing Tamil Tigers but losing soldiers to landmines and ambushes as it advances.

The men no longer wear the quaint British style of uniform they had 20 years ago, when the conflict had its small beginnings. Now the troops wear the international Americanised garb of soldiers, and they command tanks, artillery and aircraft, one of which, a few weeks ago, unloaded its bombs on a Jaffna school yard, killing 34 and wounding 150, according to independent reports. It was an incident as horrific as any in, say, Sarajevo, but it did not get a great deal of coverage outside the island, partly because the Tigers have forfeited any international sympathy by their own ruthlessness in war and intransigence in negotiations.

The Sri Lankan flag will probably go up over a Jaffna largely empty of people — as many as 400,000 may have already fled the town — a few days before the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference opens in Auckland. There, Sri Lanka's difficulties will receive less attention than those of Nigeria, where another army, in this case also the government, is responsible for ethnic repression in Ogoniland, as well as more generalised misrule.

Nigeria is a very ethnically mixed state, while Sri Lanka has only one substantial ethnic minority. Yet they both display the worst defect of many new states and some old ones: the failure to accommodate diversity, the resort to military means to contain it, and the subsequent damage to all social institutions. It would be unfair to equate the Sri Lankan and Nigerian governments. But that the two countries belong together in one sense, we have on no less an authority than that of the British Home Secretary, who has bracketed them with Algeria.

Far from the common thread being that such countries are "safe" for ordinary folk, the common thread is that in each a breakdown of order, at least in some regions, is reaching the point where mass displacements of population are a serious possibility. People in these circumstances do not flee so much from the immediate threat of death, but from the disappearance of the opportunity to live like human beings.

The very word "violation" carries the implication that "observance" of human rights is what happens most of the time. But in some countries violation becomes the norm to the point where even if the authorities are replaced or the conflict comes to an end, the mechanisms of normal social life are terribly damaged. The internal wars that many new states have waged tend to be particularly nasty, particularly full of atrocities and particularly lacking in rules of conduct. What the Commonwealth heads of government face at Auckland, under the heading of human rights, is this problem of the erosion of the institutions that make societies workable, under the pressure of internal war, the operation of military rule or, more subtly, of façade democracies.

It would be apocalyptic to say that this institutional failure is anything like a universal threat, but it is a very real one. The Commonwealth itself is a vulnerable institution, a part of international "civil society" that is as much under threat as are some domestic civil societies. Its fragility is underlined by the fact that if Quebec had chosen independence, the Commonwealth would have lost at one stroke both one of its two most important financial backers and the foremost example of the peaceful containment of an ethnic problem within one state framework.

Former colonies are not finding it easy to follow the Commonwealth into a new phase where its moral centre does not revolve around the sins of colonisers or white settlers, but around the failures of African and Asian governments, the atrocities committed by their armies, and the suppression of aspirations to self-determination. That pulls against old loyalties in the anti-colonial struggle, and against racial solidarity. Britain and the old white dominions, on the other hand, know that one unpleasant fact about morality is that it costs money and hurts business.

YET IF the Commonwealth is not a moral tradition, it is nothing. Its precise value lies in the effort to reach a moral consensus across racial and geographical lines. In Auckland that is going to be easy on the issue of French nuclear testing. Nigeria is another matter. South Africa may well take a soft line, reflecting ANC gratitude for past help, Nelson Mandela's characteristic caution and his desire to retain his "sound" reputation in big business circles. Without a strong South African lead, the indignation of other African governments, including Zimbabwe and Uganda, may not take the conference that far. The Nigerian delegation will have some tricks ready — more detail on the return to civilian rule, perhaps a commutation of the sentences on Ken Saro-Wiwa and the other accused in the Ogoni trial. The censure of Nigeria may consist only of a decision that in future military governments will not be represented at Commonwealth summits, perhaps accompanied by a Contact Group commission to monitor a return to civilian rule. Better would be an instruction to the Secretary General to prepare a sanctions programme, including oil, that would take early effect in the absence of any clear changes.

If we can hope, at least, for some fairly strong action on Nigeria, there is likely to be none on the lesser but still worrying democratic offences of other African countries. Nor is there likely to be any movement on Sri Lanka, which would require a highly unlikely mediation request from the two sides.

The legacy of empire was the mixing and muddling of peoples. The Commonwealth is a collection of multi-ethnic states, whose most critical task is to stay in one piece without resort to the coercion that in the end can destroy everything. That is why the issues symbolised by Nigeria, and by the troops on the Jaffna road, can be deemed more important than those raised by the old South Africa, which made the Commonwealth an effective moral engine for so long.

High-risk strategy is not paying off

In Britain's new labour market the poor are in despair, while even those in work are vulnerable to new social pressures, argues **Will Hutton**

The 30/30/40 society

Percentage of all adults of working age

Source: Hutton

Category	%	Group
Full-time 2 years (minus those below 50% median earnings)	31	Advantaged 40%
Full-time self-employed, 2 years plus	5	
Part-time 5 years	6	
Full-time up to 2 years (+ those below 50% median earnings)	12	Newly insecure 30%
Full-time self-employed, up to 2 years (+ part-time self-employed)	5	
Part-time up to 5 years	7	
Temporary	4	
Inactive	21	Disadvantaged 30%
[illegible]	8	
Training programmes (plus unpaid family workers)	1	

THE BRITISH are increasingly at risk. The chances of their jobs disappearing, of their incomes falling, of their homes being repossessed or being impossible to sell, of their families breaking up, of their networks of friendships disintegrating, have not been higher since the war.

There is a new source of inequality abroad. On top of the long-standing concerns about the growing gap between rich and poor, there is an increasing awareness of a new range of risks that are bringing fresh patterns of social [illegible]. Unemployment and low pay are no longer the sole measures of inequity and lack of social well-being; with the rise of new forms of casualised, temporary and contract forms of employment, even those on average incomes and above can become the victims of pressures beyond their control. They too can be left partially or completely excluded from their social networks.

The developments in the labour market have led to a new categorisation of British society. There is a bottom 30 per cent of unemployed and economically inactive who are marginalised; another 30 per cent who, while in work, are in forms of employment that are structurally insecure; and there are only 40 per cent who can count themselves as holding tenured jobs that allow them to regard their income prospects with any certainty.

But even the secure top 40 per cent know they are at risk; their numbers have been shrinking steadily for 20 years. The 30/30/40 society is a proxy for the growth of the new inequality and of the new risks about the predictability and certainty of income that have spread across all occupations and social classes.

Each category faces its own dilemmas and crises. For the bottom 30 per cent the risk is that poverty will turn into an inability even to subsist, and that marginalisation will change into complete social and economic exclusion. Eight per cent of people are unemployed; 4 per cent have been out of work for more than a year — which means complete social exclusion. The work the unemployed do find is part-time, casualised or insecure, so that their lives consist of unemployment interspersed with periods of insecure semi-employment.

The worrying figure is the 21 per cent of the working population who are now economically inactive — of working age but not making themselves available for work. Twenty years ago this segment was mostly made up of women voluntarily withdrawing from the labour market to bring up children; now it is largely peopled by men of working age and single parents.

But it is no bed of roses for the 30 per cent who are newly insecure. More and more risk has accrued on workforces as successive Employment Acts have reduced employee protection and as companies have come under intense and growing pressure from pension fund and insurance company shareholders to deliver the highest financial returns over the shortest period in the industrialised world. Companies can more profitably manage the ebb and flow of demand over the business cycle if they reduce their core staff to a minimum and hire additional workers on contracts which will allow them to be shed quickly if times get tough. The company bears less risk. The risk is borne by their fluctuating labour force. The famous example is of Burger King, where young workers clocked on when customers appeared; this reduced their wages to a derisory level but ensured they were only paid for the minutes they were needed.

There has been a marked growth in forms of work that are not "tenured". With full-time workers only qualifying for tenure after two years, the recent pick-up in full-time work means little. They can be laid off within two years as easily as they were hired.

The rapid growth in the numbers of part-timers without any formal job security, contract workers, workers sacked and then rehired as self-employed, temporary, part-time self-employed and agency workers are the true indicator that employment conditions have changed; self-employment alone has doubled over the past 10 years. Even those employers who want to hold out against the new trends are forced to conform. If they allow their wage costs to rise above the industry average, they face loss of market share and financial distress.

Here there is a gender effect. Most of the growth in part-time and insecure work has fallen to women, typically less unionised and more compliant. Many married women respond in surveys that they like such work because it allows them to juggle family responsibilities with earning. But as 70 per cent of all new part-time jobs are for 16 hours or less, and so do not attract employment protection or any benefits such as holiday or sickness entitlement, such workers are highly at risk.

The last 40 per cent are the advantaged — from the workers still covered by union wage agreements to full-time, tenured employees working in the great organisations in the public and private sectors. The full-time self-employed, like John Birt in his old contract with the BBC, come into this category too. But their numbers are shrinking by 1 per cent a year on average. Market-testing, contracting-out, down-sizing and delayering are steadily transferring workers into much less secure work patterns. By the year 2000, full-time tenured employment, around which stable family life has been constructed along with the capacity to service 25-year mortgages, will be a minority form of work.

And as the risk of insecure or no employment grows, so the social institutions and systems built up over the past 50 years to protect against risk are decaying. The welfare state is more threadbare, and eligibility for income support — itself worth less and less in relation to average incomes — ever tougher. Trade unions' capacity to protect against sudden and sharp deteriorations in working conditions has been reduced. The British labour market, reports the OECD, ranks bottom in the league table of industrialised countries.

The individual means to protect against risk are no stronger. With nearly 70 per cent of homes owned by their occupier, one bulwark against financial calamity has been rising house prices. For 45 years, the average British household steadily grew more wealthy on the back of the great house price boom; but the fall in house prices in real terms over the nineties caused the most savage reverse in personal wealth since the war. The operation of the housing market, with more than a million home owners having mortgages that exceed the value of their house (negative equity) and every mortgagee paying high real interest rates to own an asset that is falling in value, is now a source of insecurity in its own right.

The promotion of uncertainty, risk and insecurity has made the operation of the economy as a system less efficient

Private insurance companies have become more selective about insuring those whose circumstances indicate that they might claim, making basic protection more expensive, sometimes impossible, to obtain. Millions hold personal pension plans that will pay them a minimal pension in retirement, worth substantially less than the former state earnings-related pension.

All this has been justified by a narrow conception of "efficiency". It is said to be efficient for firms to have lean core workforces; for the provision of welfare to be privatised; for unions to be less powerful. But perversely the promotion of uncertainty, risk and insecurity has made the operation of the economy as a system less efficient. It has weakened the growth and stability of demand; it has reduced firms' incentives to invest in their workforces and their [illegible] current public expenditure and reduced the tax base.

One of the features of the recovery has been weak investment growth — with firms repeatedly saying in surveys that they are worried by the need to make high financial returns in the context of uncertain future demand. Consumers have become price-conscious, leery about buying big-ticket items and undertaking long-term commitments.

How can they behave otherwise? David Miles, chief economist of Merrill Lynch, calculates that the average variability of income for average workers has grown by half since 1968; we are 50 per cent more likely to have a violent downward swing in our income. The individual firm may find it efficient to reduce its core workforce and displace risk on to part-timers and contract workers; but in aggregate the impact is to make incomes more volatile and individuals more cautious.

Demand becomes weaker and more variable. To explain the crisis in the housing market, and the implications for the house-building and construction industries, look no further than the 30/30/40 society.

Nor does it make sense for government finances. Tax revenues this year will undershoot the Treasury's projections by up to £4 billion; low-paid part-timers and short-term contract workers do not generate the same income tax yield as their full-time equivalents, and their spending, biased to subsistence goods that attract no VAT, means that indirect taxation grows less rapidly as well.

Simultaneously social security spending, despite ever tighter eligibility tests, increases as the numbers qualifying for housing benefit assistance and income support rise remorselessly. The freezing of the growing 30/30/40 society would have saved the Chancellor the £3 billion in spending cuts he sought this autumn.

The forces generating the 30/30/40 society could be arrested. A more determined assault on long-term unemployment; extending employment rights to those not in full-time work; relieving companies of the pressure to make sky-high financial returns; constructing more solid systems of social support; placing less emphasis on home ownership as the only form of housing tenure — all would help. To act in this way is supposed to be inefficient. But not to act in this way is more inefficient still. In the long run a 30/30/40 society is neither desirable nor sustainable. One day the pendulum will swing back because it must.

In Brief

THE JAPANESE bank Daiwa was ordered by the US central bank to close its American operations and was charged by federal prosecutors with trying to cover up millions of dollars' worth of losses. The bank faces an imminent takeover by its bigger rival, Sumitomo.

THE CHURCH of England sold its £3.6 million stake in BSkyB in protest at the launch of the soft-porn channel Playboy TV.

BRITISH AIRWAYS unveiled record half-year profits, up from £349 million to £430 million. [illegible] international partnerships amounted to about £50 million.

AT&T, the American telecommunications giant, has stolen a march on Tony Blair and British Telecom's plans for the UK by offering free access to the Internet and services on the information superhighway to virtually every school in the US.

PAY RISES for the UK's top executives have accelerated rapidly in the past 12 months, according to a recent survey.

IN ITS first public deal with a Gulf state, Israel has reached agreement with Qatar for the supply of natural gas worth some £1.2 billion.

A CLAIM for compensation by Eurotunnel, the Channel tunnel operator, of £2.3 billion from British, French and Belgian rail companies has been rejected.

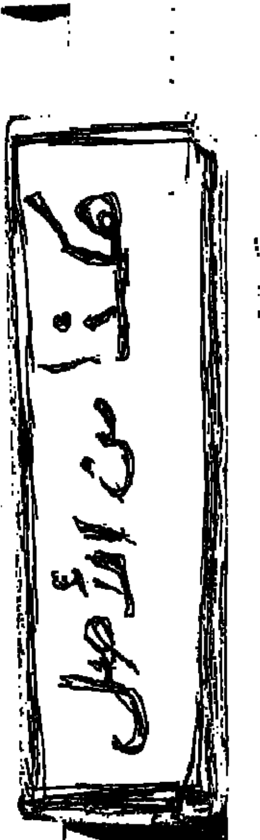
TAKEOVER speculation returned to the UK electricity industry as the American utility, Central and South West Corporation, clinched an agreed £1.6 billion bid for Seeboard, the regional power company based inSussex.

ASPREY, jeweller to the Queen, has been bought by one of its best customers, Prince Jefri Bolkiah of Brunei, for £243.5 million.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates October 30	Sterling rates November 6
Australia	2.0717-2.0758	2.0935-2.0978
Austria	15.58-15.61	15.70-15.73
Belgium	45.52-45.63	45.85-45.96
Canada	2.1471-2.1501	2.1317-2.1347
Denmark	8.59-8.61	8.64-8.66
France	7.69-7.71	7.73-7.75
Germany	2.2149-2.2180	2.2321-2.2352
Hong Kong	12.20-12.21	12.20-12.21
Ireland	0.9731-0.9756	0.9762-0.9787
Italy	2,514-2,518	2,516-2,520
Japan	160.22-160.49	163.30-163.57
Netherlands	2.4818-2.4861	2.5001-2.5034
New Zealand	2.3870-2.3902	2.4078-2.4111
Norway	9.80-9.81	9.86-9.88
Portugal	233.54-234.19	234.64-235.27
Spain	192.26-192.58	192.44-192.73
Sweden	10.44-10.46	10.53-10.56
Switzerland	1.7880-1.7908	1.7980-1.8006
USA	1.5776-1.5786	1.5786-1.5796
ECU	1.2060-1.2078	1.2174-1.2191

FTSE100 Share Index up 4.9 at 3514.8. FTSE 250 Index up 6.2 at 3687.7. Gold unchanged at $383.25.



Assassin Spawned From Culture of Hate

Barton Gellman in Jerusalem

ON A windswept hill in the upper West Bank, the man police accuse of gunning down Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin gave a coldly furious interview last June.

Yigal Amir, an intense, dark-haired student of law and computer science, was standing in an illegal new Jewish settlement called Maale Yisrael, or "ascent of Israel." All around him were the placards of the apoplectic right. "The Land of Israel is in Danger!" screamed one black-on-yellow banner, stretched between the improvised structures of the week-old encampment.

A portable toilet stall invited settlers, by using it, to express their contempt for the government's peace policies with each call of nature. A hand-lettered sign dubbed the toilet the "Oslo Agreement" — a reference to the Norwegian-hosted accord that began the shift to Palestinian self-rule in September 1993.

Amir, who said he was 25, explained that he hitchhiked to Maale Yisrael each day from classes at Bar Ilan University in suburban Tel Aviv, a campus known for its affinity to religious nationalists. No matter what Rabin's government tried to do, he said, Jews would control the West Bank forever.

"This is the most holy land," he said. "Two thousand years ago, most of the population of Israel was here, in Samaria and Jerusalem." The government's "backbone is very weak, and maybe that is the reason they are willing to give up everything for peace," he said.

Amir said the government would not survive to complete its program. He did not elaborate, and there was no indication at the time that he meant anything more than the usual opposition vow to bring down Rabin's coalition at the polls.

Amir gave the impression of holding more detailed views he did not care to share with an American reporter. Asked, for example, about the Arab villages in view and their orchards of almond and apple trees, Amir said that just because Arabs worked the land "doesn't mean it belongs to the Arabs."

Would settlers move to those places next, his visitor asked.

"Maybe," Amir replied.

Police officials here, speaking to Israeli reporters after disarming Amir and pinning him to a wall as Rabin fell bleeding, said the alleged assassin spoke with almost surreal calm. Informed that Rabin had succumbed to his wounds, the officials said, Amir expressed satisfaction.



Suspect held . . . an Israeli policeman grips Yigal Amir, who was arrested after Yitzhak Rabin was shot dead at a peace rally in Tel Aviv

Amir confessed, according to Israeli broadcast reports, that he had intended to kill Rabin for most of a year and at least twice had traveled to the sites of Rabin's scheduled appearances — in January at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial, a visit Rabin did not make because of a terrorist bombing in Beit Lid that day, and in September at the dedication of a new highway interchange.

Israel Television aired file footage at the weekend of Amir at the September event, some distance from Rabin. He was screaming about the abandonment of 140,000 Jews, a reference to the West Bank settlers, and police removed him forcibly from the scene.

Amir hails from Herzliya, an affluent beach-front suburb north of Tel Aviv, where his mother is a kindergarten teacher and his father a biblical calligrapher. Israel Radio reported he did his army service in the elite Golani combat brigade and served as an immigration emissary of the Jewish Agency in the former Soviet Union. Both of those are sterling credentials, obtained by stiff competition in Israel.

AVISHAI RAVIV, the chief of a right-wing extremist group called Eyal, which has been linked to violence against Arabs, said that "we knew him through our activity" but denied that Amir was a member. "He was always nice and moderate," Raviv said.

A classmate from Kolel, a community seminary where Amir studied, told Israel Radio that Amir did have "a connection with the Raviv gang."

"I think he was brainwashed and did not act alone, as he claims," said the acquaintance, identified only as Arik. "The truth is there were signs. After every attack and during demonstrations on the lawn at Bar Ilan, he said things like, 'Rabin should be taken care of' and 'the government should be taken care of.'"

Asked whether he had ever reported such remarks, Arik replied: "Listen, you live with people and you cannot believe that a person who is close to you is capable of carrying out such an insane act. It is true that he is right-wing. So am I. But this is frightening."

Others who knew Amir said he worked for a security company and, like many Israeli men with army service, was licensed to carry a weapon.

Amir's case serves to illustrate the ability of violent extremists, including also members of banned groups such as Kach and Kahane Lives, to mingle seamlessly with mainstream members of the political opposition. Kach activists, violent followers of the late rabbi Meir Kahane, often manage to infiltrate Likud party rallies and attract television cameras with chants such as "Death to Rabin!"

At one spontaneous demonstration, at the scene of an August terror bomb in Jerusalem, the extremists whipped up a large enough crowd to physically threaten President Ezer Weizman and prevent him from speaking.

At Maale Yisrael, Amir lived and worked openly amid senior representatives of the Yesha Council, the umbrella organization for Jewish settlers, and of Likud Youth.

Likud leaders supported the illegal settlement, and Likud banners were raised at the site.

"Sadly, many nonviolent politicians on the right were encouraging extremists to adopt violent means because they themselves were using extremist rhetoric," said Yossi Alpher, an Israeli strategist who is Jerusalem representative of the American Jewish Committee.

Menachen Friedman, an expert on Israel's religious right from Bar Ilan University, said extremists routinely demonized left-wing leaders and believed that their elimination could change the course of events. "I think . . . in that act he thought he would stop the peace process," Friedman said.

Rabin's own stubbornness gave Amir his final opportunity. Members of his inner circle said at the weekend they had urged him for months to wear body armor under his clothes. They said he waved them off, saying he was not afraid.

Nigeria Goes Beyond Pale

COMMENT
Jim Hoagland

NIGERIA'S corrupt military dictatorship has crossed a red line by sentencing minority rights leader Ken Saro-Wiwa to death on trumped-up murder charges. Only a strong burst of world condemnation that includes the international oil companies that keep Africa's largest nation afloat financially can save Saro-Wiwa from death and Nigeria from complete ruin.

In practical terms, the dissident's fate rests in the hands of Royal Dutch Shell, the British-Dutch oil giant, America's Chevron Corporation, and a handful of other European and American petroleum companies, none of which has spoken out on the case.

Their silence is predictable. Global business routinely refuses to mix in domestic politics and is right to do so. The Saro-Wiwa case should be the exception to the rule of multinationals avoiding political controversy. It should also be a catalyst for the world's oil companies to reassess the role they play in shoring up murderous regimes in Nigeria, Libya, Iran and elsewhere.

Mr Saro-Wiwa, an acclaimed playwright, is one of those engaging Nigerian intellectuals caught up in the turbulence that has engulfed his country since its 1961 independence from Britain. He leads the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People, who are among 20 ethnic groups that inhabit the oil-producing Niger River Delta region.

The movement demands for the Ogoni a fair share of oil revenues from the central government — a regime that promotes drug-trafficking and which annulled the results of a 1993 national election that would have returned the country to civilian rule — and from Shell and Chevron, which hold the primary oil concessions in Ogoniland. The companies have temporarily closed down operations there because of civil strife and protest.

There should be a line beyond which the oil companies will not go in aiding and abetting criminal behavior by a host government. That is the line Nigeria's rulers have crossed. Shell and the others should respond by making clear publicly that they do not condone Nigeria's actions.

It's Time To Confront Israeli Extremists

COMMENT
Richard Cohen

ON JANUARY 16, 1933, two men approached a couple walking on the Tel Aviv beach and asked the man his name. "Chaim Arlosoroff," he replied — and was shot dead. Arlosoroff was an important leader of what would become Israel's Labor Party. His killers apparently were extreme right-wing Jews.

To those who insist that the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin is without precedence, historical fact screams otherwise. Arlosoroff was murdered by co-religionists whose concept of Israel was as expansive then as it is now and who, if anything, mingled dreams of a Greater Israel (all of Jordan, most of Syria) with an admiration for Italian and German fascism that today seems totally incomprehensible: Jewish fascists? Yes, I'm afraid so.

Yigal Amir, the 27-year-old law student who reportedly confessed to killing Rabin, is said to be proud of his deed and says he acted on instructions from God. In that, he is typical of various Middle Eastern assassins, whatever their religion, or in their more secular manifestation, nuts anywhere. The ability of a single deranged person to change the course of history — Lee Harvey Oswald comes to mind — is not limited to any particular place on the globe.

But if Oswald comes out of a certain American tradition — the loner with a gun — then Amir comes out of an Israeli one. Way before the creation of the Jewish State in 1948 — way back when Israel existed only in coffeehouse debates and the rich dreams of impoverished European Jews — an extremist, violence-prone movement had arisen. It was always few in number and operated, usually, only on the margins of Israeli society, but it is neither new nor, as we now know, without consequence.

If anything, the extremist movement is probably larger and more menacing than at any time in Israel's short history. Where once it was somewhat ideological, it is now basically religious. Like Amir, Baruch Goldstein, the settler who in 1994 murdered 29 Muslims as they prayed at Hebron's Tomb of the Patriarch, also took instruction from God.

So does Rabbi Moshe Levenger, a major force in the Israeli settlements movement. Back in 1980, he led me through the market at Hebron, wading through Arabs with a contempt and disdain that I found both repulsive and downright scary.

The settlement Levenger and his wife, Miriam, established in Hebron was clearly illegal. The government moved to protect it anyway and, ultimately, provided it with utilities. Levenger was later convicted of killing an unarmed Arab in a burst of anger — and served no more than 10 weeks in jail. In other words, he has been the personification of the Israeli government's refusal to really come to grips with its extremists. Some politicians admire them; others merely want their votes.

Rabin was in neither camp. He loathed the religious extremists and said so. He understood that the religious fanatics were not only a threat to the peace process, but to Israeli democracy itself. Compromise is essential to any democracy, but zealots do not compromise.

Sooner or later, Israel must deal with its extremists — and American Jews must cease supporting them.

Amir is hardly the only zealot in Israel nor, for that matter, the only one entitled to carry a weapon. He and people like him pose a clear danger to the very assumptions of a democratic state, not to mention a Middle East peace.

The tragedy of Rabin's death will only be compounded if Jews both in Israel and the United States do not confront the menace of extremism. At this moment, these zealots pose a threat to a democratic and secure Israel that no Arab army can equal.

Minorities Fear Quebec Nationalism

Anne Swardson in Montreal

THE Golden Age Center in the heart of Montreal's old Jewish quarter is humming with activity. Seniors are making soapstone statues, exercising in the health club, playing mah-jongg and, in the auditorium, more than 100 are having an earnest discussion about whether they should indeed fear the results of the referendum on Quebec sovereignty.

The seniors are concerned not so much about the results of the referendum, in which 5 million voters in the mostly French-speaking province rejected independence from Canada by a margin of 53,498 votes, barely more than 1 percentage point. Much of their worry springs from what followed, when Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau said in a speech on election night that the vote had been lost because of "money and the ethnic vote."

"I'm angry and I'm upset," said Reva Gesser, 82, who felt she and her community were included in Parizeau's comment. "I don't care what they think. Quebec is my homeland, Canada is my country. I don't feel a stranger in this land."

Parizeau resigned the day after the vote, saying it was time for others to take up the struggle for Quebec independence. But he did not apologize for his words about the vote, saying "they underline a reality that exists."

Now, the seniors, and many of the rest of the 18 percent of Quebec's population for whom French is not the native language, are uncertain about their future here. The referendum not only exposed fundamental differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada, it laid bare the fault lines between the French of Quebec and the "others."

Parizeau's remarks would be little more than an ugly memory were it not for the fact that the battle is not over: Separatist leaders say they intend to hold a referendum on sovereignty again soon and will not give up the cause despite their electoral defeat. Some of those who fall under the umbrella of the "ethnic vote" fear the separatists have an ulterior motive behind disparaging remarks such as Parizeau's.

"They want all the strangers to go out from Quebec and then they will vote yes to separation," said a Montreal resident who emigrated from Poland in 1970 and declined to give her name.

At the Jean Talon open-air farmers' market in north Montreal, vendors of all different ethnic groups plied their wares, with Italian fruit stands and butcher shops next to East European dairy shops. Geno Klein, who came to Montreal from Czechoslovakia 37 years ago, rested his chapped hands on the counter of his egg stand and said he didn't think things would get better with Parizeau gone.

"I work 12 to 15 hours a day, seven days a week," he said. "I pay taxes. Montreal is full of immigrants. We are all equal, even if some of us don't speak French as well as the others. They (the separatists) are not democrats, they are dictators."

The results of the referendum tell the story: Some 60 percent of French speakers, or Francophones, voted in favor of Quebec independence. An estimated 95 percent of Anglophones and those whose native language is neither English nor French, voted against. In his speech, Parizeau said a proportion that high was "not healthy."



Yes man . . . A pro-independence supporter yells at police after the referendum PHOTO: ANDRE PICHETTE

His remarks were swiftly disavowed by other separatist leaders, including Lucien Bouchard, leader of the federal Bloc Québécois and a possible successor to Parizeau. "All votes are equal," Bouchard said. French-language radio stations and newspapers were overwhelmed with calls and letters from Francophones who felt Parizeau's remarks were inappropriate.

Columnist Lysiane Gagnon of La Presse pointed out that the election could just as easily be said to have been lost by the 40 percent of Francophones who voted no. Some Francophone regions, including the area of Beauce in the east, opposed separation by a majority.

"I think if there is a consequence, it is that it could be counterproductive for the party of Mr. Parizeau," said Eric Faustin, director of the Bureau of the Haitian Christian Community in Montreal.

Quebec is home to a variety of linguistic and ethnic groups, who in general live peacefully together. Some 50,000 Haitians live here; other French speakers have come from Vietnam and some African countries. People also have come from Hong Kong, Lebanon, Portugal and Greece. But even in the years when Quebec was not governed by separatists, leaders took measures to ensure that the French language was not overwhelmed by immigration or assimilation. So, for instance, new immigrants to Quebec cannot send their children to English schools except in rare cases; they must be educated in French.

Members and volunteers at the Golden Age Center, whose children and grandchildren are bilingual, say their daily lives are pleasant and they socialize easily if not closely with French Quebecers. The problem, they say, is the politicians and their attitudes.

French Quebecers call it *pure laine*, literally, pure wool, or true Quebecers, those descended from French stock, whose ancestors were here when Gen. James Wolfe defeated the Marquis de Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec City in 1759 and established British dominion over what was to become Canada. It doesn't matter that the members of the Golden Age Center may be descended from stock that has been here nearly that long. To French Quebecers, it is not the same.

"They say we can't feel what they feel: pride in country, pride in sovereignty," said Ada Tannenbaum, 71.

"I've lived here for 45 years. I can't imagine living anywhere else. But I can't be a *pure laine* French Canadian," said Irvin Lesk, 68. "That is where I have a problem. What will happen to my son and grandson?"

The seniors worry about a repeat of 1976, the year the separatists first came to power in Quebec. That sent more than 150,000 English speakers out of the province, along with a host of large companies.

"There's going to be a lot of emotion and a lot of young people are going to go," said Reva Gesser.

But no one in the group interviewed at the center had plans to leave. Their sentiments were summed up by staff member Margaret LeBrun, 58, who said: "My place is to stay here and fight. This is a democratic society."

Hung Jury in Canada

EDITORIAL

QUEBEC'S vote on secession has settled less than would have seemed possible a week ago. The legal analogy is a hung jury, requiring a retrial. The sovereignty movement failed by 49.44 percent of the vote to 50.56, with a phenomenal 93 percent of the eligible voters actually casting ballots. Under other circumstances, that might well have permanently killed Quebec's aspirations for separate status. It is, after all, the second defeat in a provincial referendum in 15 years. But the vote seems to have given new energy to this long quarrel.

In his strenuous efforts to try to dissuade Quebec from voting yes, Canada's prime minister, Jean Chrétien, has promised a renewed attempt to ensure the protection of the French language and of Quebec's traditions within the Canadian federation. That means constitutional reform, and Canada has been there before.

Quebec has never given its consent to Canada's present constitution, and repeated attempts to negotiate its objections have collapsed. Any substantial change requires ratification by all of the country's provinces. Either the English-speaking provinces balk at giving Quebec the full assurances that it demands, or they ask for similar powers for themselves.

One of the sovereignty movement's demands, for example, is a veto for Quebec on any further constitutional changes affecting the language and cultural provisions that concern it. Mr Chrétien seemed to agree to it in the closing moments of the campaign. But it's hard to provide that to Quebec without offering similar vetoes to all the other provinces, a truly dangerous precedent. Mr. Chrétien will now devote himself to trying to find a way through this legal and political labyrinth. A similar effort consumed his predecessor Brian Mulroney earlier in this decade, and ultimately ended in failure.

It would be nice to think that this hairline outcome of the vote would push the federalists and the sovereignty movement toward compromise. But things don't seem to be moving that way. In 1980 the separatists got 40 percent of the vote, and now they have nearly 50 percent — a progression that some of them take as good reason to keep pushing.

Perhaps times have changed, and as days pass perhaps a different spirit will prevail. That would certainly be applauded by Canada's (and Quebec's) friends in this country.

Making Morality Everybody's Business

OPINION
Ellen Goodman

SO, ANYWAY, I have this hot idea for a new daytime TV talk show. Sally, Jenny, Ricki, Montel! Let's take a meeting! It's yours for the asking, kids!

Here's the deal. Instead of another dreary program about another husband who cheats on his wife by having an affair with her transvestite teen-age brother — ho hum — how about one that chronicles the truly creative ways that people are getting scr — oops — bleeped by the economy.

All you need to do is book the CEO of a corporation that's posting megaprofits while replacing permanent workers with temps and trading perks for pink slips. There he is in the guest chair, when out from the green room — TA DA! — pops a 30-year former employee who was outplaced into a creative new lifestyle as a cabdriver. You want conflict? Babe, you got it.

How about humor? OK, get the 25 top paid executives whose 1994 wages added up to $1.5 billion. Ask one to explain exactly why he's worth $10,000 day or $400 an hour. Let another justify earning two hundred times what his lowest-paid workers are getting. Get ready for the hoots and howls.

Want to get down and dirty? Line up a couple of honchos who promised jobs in return for state tax breaks and then took off with a new gal . . . uh, state. Now that's the kind of infidelity that can get the blood boiling again.

The beauty of my idea isn't just its obvious entertainment value. It's that it might actually enlarge the vision of the moral monitors.

Think about it. Virtue marketeer Bill Bennett has just turned his attention from the sordid sounds of rap music to the sleazy sights of daytime talk shows. He and Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut are going after the talk shows and the companies that produce what they generously call "rot." Their weapon is shame.

All the virtue lessons these days seem to be about individual behavior. The only time we put a moral grid over corporate behavior is when some company, TV network, or media mogul is mucking about in popular culture.

Remember what Bob Dole asked the folks at Time Warner last August? "Must you debase our nation and threaten our children for the sake of corporate profits?" Now there's a question worthy of my talk show host. Maybe if Dole's president thing doesn't work out, we'll audition him for the job. But why limit the question to Time Warner? Why limit the talk about values to sex, violence, rap 'n' roll?

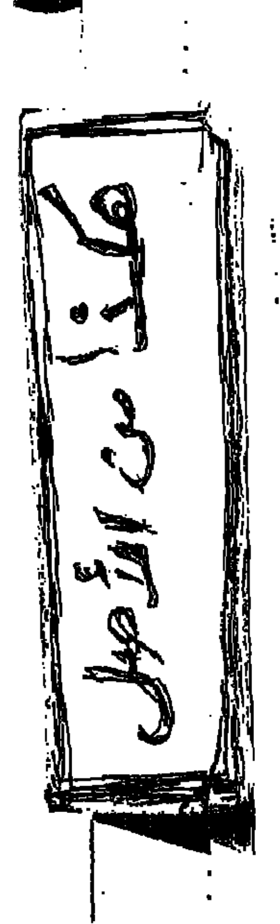
In a recent conversation, Labor Secretary Robert Reich — the only man in the administration who still talks this way — said that, "If companies have a moral responsibility not to fill the movie theater and airwaves with violence and moral degradation, do they not also have a responsibility to keep workers employed when profits are rising? A moral responsibility to upgrade worker skills, an obligation to fully fund pension plans, to provide health care?"

Applying his own economic book of virtues, he's been trying to raise the minimum wage, get rid of sweatshops, and save the Earned Income Tax Credit. He's convinced that there's a "great pool of untapped indignation" about companies that are reaping and not sharing the benefits of an improved economy.

Executives in the 1950s talked almost routinely about their responsibilities to consumers, workers and communities. But today, Reich says, "The CEOs are remarkably quiet. We are acting as if the economy had nothing to do with values. We need a serious national discussion about corporate responsibility."

Sally Jesse Raphael defends talk TV against Bennett & Company's charges of trash TV, by swearing that "The purpose of the show is very much a morality play."

Well, that's a bit hard to swallow. But hon, if you want a morality play have I got a new gig for you. The name of my ethics hour? You remember: "It's The Economy, Stupid."



Pentagon in Push to Step Up Spying

Walter Pincus

THE Defence Department has merged the covert intelligence operations of the individual military services and plans to expand its espionage abroad, starting with establishment of phoney businesses overseas as cover, according to congressional sources.

The Pentagon's new interest in spying is partly the result of pressure from Congress on both the military and the civilian-run Central Intelligence Agency to send more clandestine agents overseas to work on such targets as terrorism and weapons proliferation that cannot be well-covered by high-tech spy satellites.

The pumping of new life into the military's spying comes as the CIA's Directorate of Operations — the principal agency responsible for sending agents to recruit and handle informants abroad — is under fire both inside the agency and on Capitol Hill for its questionable activities and its failure to detect a Soviet mole within the agency before he caused incalculable damage to CIA spy networks inside the Soviet Union.

The Pentagon plans, however, have raised questions inside the administration about how many covert operatives from how many agencies the US needs in the post-Cold War world.

The bringing together of the military's clandestine operatives — once spread through the army, navy, air force and marines — has led to the establishment over the past three years of the Defence HUMINT (Human Intelligence) Service, or DHS. It has become a part of the Defence Intelligence Agency, or DIA, and it numbers more than 1,000 uniformed and civilian personnel.

A DIA spokesman declined to comment on how many of the 1,000 were clandestine operatives abroad and how many were back-up personnel. The CIA has roughly 4,500 in its operations directorate, of whom 900 are covert operatives called case officers.

Under a new bill, the DHS is to be given a trial period of three years to carry on commercial activities "to provide cover security to intelligence collection activities undertaken abroad".

The request for authority "to provide bona fide commercial cover" was so that DHS's operations could "withstand investigation by hostile foreign intelligence services as well as domestic scrutiny".

The Pentagon wanted to be granted permanent authority to set up phoney businesses, but a congressional panel only allowed three years. In 1991 Congress gave the DIA a similar authority for three years. But that authority is about to run out after never being used, because it took that long to arrange unification of the services' separate operations.

Congress is pressing for more human intelligence collection in coming years, especially from agents working undercover outside of US embassies. Congress believes these "non-official cover" personnel are well-suited to deal with the new intelligence objectives of combating terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and gathering information about economics.

Iranian Team Unveils Its Olympic hopes

John Lancaster in Tehran

MEET the Iranian national women's flatwater kayaking team, among the newest entrants in a growing movement to make sports acceptable — and accessible — to women in a country known more for religious zeal than equality of the sexes. Their male coach says the extra clothing adds 10 seconds to their time on a 550-yard course.

Over the objections of religious conservatives, the government has begun to upgrade sports facilities for women and has granted permission for them to compete internationally in a handful of sports, so long as they can do so without compromising Islamic rules on covering their bodies.

The kayakers hope to qualify for next year's Summer Olympics in Atlanta. Other possible sports for women in chadors are table tennis, horse-jumping, skiing, shooting — and chess.

"I want to have a place in western or international sports while simultaneously observing and preserving Islamic regulations and values," said Faiza Hashemi, the daughter of President Hashemi Rafsanjani and a leading backer of women's sports in Iran.

"I think Muslim women need more of this, because the world has a negative image of them." Ms Hashemi, 33, is vice-president of the Iranian Olympic committee.

The government's insistence on dress codes means women cannot compete in such Olympic mainstays as swimming, track and field events, basketball or volleyball.

Empowerment Flows from Waterworks

Lynne Duke in Kabanana Township, Zambia

ITS NOT that Julia Malembeka thinks men couldn't solve the water crisis here on the northern outskirts of Lusaka. They just didn't.

So she did.

Actually, Malembeka and about 100 other women here did it together, for they, as women of Africa, have traditionally had the responsibility of finding water for their families — collecting it in pails and jugs from a far-off stream, carrying it atop their heads when no transport was available and making the always long walk home, where the water would quickly be used for cooking, drinking, washing, cleaning, and the whole process would have to start all over.

"This water sometimes could be dirty water, but any water was better than none," Malembeka said in a cheery sing-song voice that makes even dirty water sound pleasant.

Collecting water long has been women's work, and now thanks to the Kabanana Site and Service Women's Club, drilling for water in this community of 8,000 is women's work too, as well as financing it, distributing it and, for now, controlling it.

Water often is a scarce resource here in the arid regions of Africa, where the absence of adequate rainfall season after season has left drought across southern Africa.

Malembeka, 43, a mother, wife and secretary, never imagined she'd someday know so much about water pressure, water tanks, groundwater and bore holes. But when her club decided to take up water as a problem to solve, the material on development that continually reached her desk at UNICEF, where she has worked for 18 years, suddenly took on new meaning. She devoured it all for knowledge on water.

The work that she and her members have undertaken is a dramatic break from traditional gender relations in Africa, where women are like a silent support staff to the men in charge.

The Kabanana women have nothing against their men, they just want to run the waterworks on their own. So they have prohibited men from joining their club, and wrestled with the local town councilor for use of the police post and its electricity. Although some men bristled at this new development, who can complain about suddenly having a nearby source of water?

"They have no choice. They are drinking clean water. Their shirts are cleaner," Malembeka said.

"Our culture indicates that when you are in the presence of men you just let the men talk and you listen," said Malembeka, whose father advised her she need not finish secondary school since her place was simply to marry. She did finish school, took a few courses in college and married, too.

Even at the local PTA, where most of the members are women, all but one of the officers is a man, Malembeka said. "I was fuming," she said with a laugh, explaining that she would have tried to become an officer, but was too late in arriving.

And at the new Highlands School, the first school in Kabanana, there is no water either — although a high-tech pumping system was installed with World Bank funding. There are 1,000 students, who carry small containers of water to tide them through the day, but of course it is not enough. "They are not learning," said headmaster Ngoma Ariton. "They are looking for water."

For reasons that have escaped even the inquiring mind of Malembeka, the water taps here in Kabanana, supplied by the city of Lusaka, went dry about five years ago — a casualty, no doubt, of the country's dire economic straits and the problem endemic to most developing countries: Things intended to work just don't.

The idea for a water project came to Malembeka as she read development material at UNICEF, where her most recent job was as secretary to the resident director.

The women wrote to donor agencies and banks and received enough funding — 25 million kwacha ($27,000) — to drill for water. They also installed a tank with a capacity of 2,340 gallons and taps for the townspeople to fill their jugs.

A stipulation of their funding from an Irish relief agency was that the women's club should contribute 25 percent. To raise it, the women held barbecues and wrote letters to potential donors. And they charge townspeople a small monthly fee for use of the new water available. The club's only employee, a man, keeps watch over the water and the receipts.

Unfortunately, like many happy tales, this one has hit a rough patch, for the women's group is nearly bankrupt. The Lusaka bank where their funds were on deposit collapsed in May, and no one knows when or if anyone will recover her money.

None of this stops Malembeka from musing about future development. "We hope to have a clinic, too. We have no clinic," she said. "And the roads, too," which are dirt and deeply rutted. "We hope that one day we'll have the phones. Then you can pick up the phone in Jo'burg and reach me at my home."

"They are dreams," she sighs, laughing.

But maybe not.

Research on 'Gay Gene' Confirmed

Curt Suplee

RESEARCHERS have confirmed and extended one of the most controversial findings in modern biology: the discovery that hereditary factors apparently predispose some men to homosexuality.

In last week's issue of the journal Nature Genetics, a team headed by molecular biologist Dean Hamer of the National Cancer Institute (NCI) in Washington reports new evidence that genetic material on one segment of the X chromosome seems to influence the probability of homosexuality in males — though not in females.

"The next stage," Hamer said, "is to identify the (specific) gene or genes involved" and to try to determine exactly what biochemical processes might be at work.

Only a few years ago, the notion of a "gay gene" was regarded as highly speculative, if not outlandish. But now numerous labs across the country are investigating whether and how genetic variation may affect homosexuality, and the next few years will produce an explosion of data in this highly volatile field.

"The climate has changed," said Elliot Gershon, chief of clinical neurogenetics at the National Institute of Mental Health, whose lab has begun its own "gay gene" study. "It has changed to a large extent because of Dean Hamer's work, but also because the gay community — although it is split on the issue — finds the work interesting and thinks it may make a positive contribution."

Beth Barrett, spokesperson for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, called Hamer's study "an important addition to the growing body of evidence indicating a biological basis for homosexuality in some people." But she cautioned that "precautions must be taken to ensure that the results are not used against any individuals or groups."

Although most researchers believe the development of homosexual orientation is influenced by a constellation of "environmental factors" such as personal experience, upbringing and family background, the discovery of a gene or genes that increase the probability of being gay would make it difficult to regard homosexuality as solely a matter of personal choice.

Hamer's group had first proposed the existence of a "gay gene" in 1993, based on DNA studies of 40 pairs of homosexual brothers. The researchers theorized that if genes affect sexual orientation, then male homosexual siblings would share the same kind of distinctive configuration in at least one section of their DNA. In fact, the results showed that 83 percent of the gay brothers had the same set of five telltale genetic markers on the X chromosome. The odds of that happening by chance are 1 in 200.

The finding met with considerable initial skepticism — in part because of its politically provocative subject, but mainly because no definitive link has ever been shown between a particular arrangement of genetic material and a specific behavior.

A flurry of widely publicized research in the 1980s indicated tentative hereditary causes for conditions as diverse as alcoholism, manic depression and schizophrenia. But scientists were unable to confirm those results in repeated follow-up experiments, and numerous early claims were retracted.

Quebec moves closer than ever to making the break

EDITORIAL

SELDOM has the outcome of a political battle hung in the balance for so long. Seldom has a victory been such a cause for concern, or a defeat such cause for optimism. Seldom has a country emerging from an election seemed as divided as Quebec after its October 30 referendum on independence, which resulted in the "Yes" camp scraping home with a majority of 50.6 per cent.

The 1980 referendum now seems to belong to the remote past. On that occasion the adversaries of sovereignty for Quebec won hands down. This time, the verdict of the polls has left Quebec torn between the two camps.

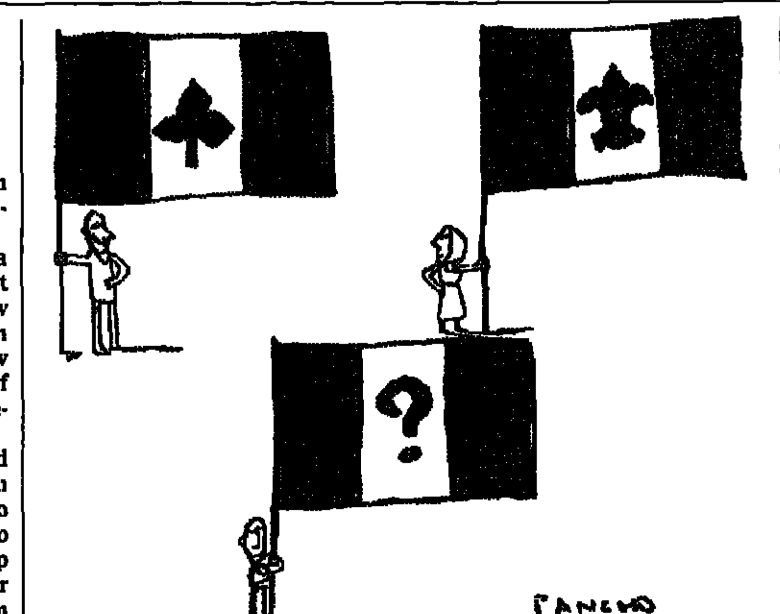
Never have the separatists been so numerous — they now enjoy a clear majority in the French-speaking community. Never has their national feeling been so resolute. Never has the gulf that sets them apart from English-speakers and recent immigrants been so marked.

Although they lost by a whisker, the separatists must have been delighted to see how deeply their ideas have taken root in Quebec society, and how irreversible the movement of which they form part has become.

Wild hopes were succeeded by bitter disappointment, which they must do their best to overcome. They will need to resist the temptation to come up with an "ethnic" explanation for their defeat that could lead them to seek scapegoats among the minorities.

The federalists face no less daunting a task. The referendum verdict and the extreme political polarisation resulting from it have sent them an unambiguous message: after having proudly recovered their collective identity over a period of several years, Québécois are increasingly opposed to the status quo and yearn to be recognised as a "distinct society".

It was because he was capable of expressing that ardent desire so eloquently, speaking to Québécois straight from the heart with a combination of enthusiasm and demagoguery, and constantly invoking such notions as history and memory, that their much-loved leader Lucien Bouchard led them to the brink of success in only a few weeks.



Will the Ottawa government at last heed Quebec's message? It must have been given a fright, in retrospect, by the possibility of a national break-up.

The question is: will it have been frightened enough to muster the courage and imagination to accept Quebec's specificity at last and embark with it on a sweeping programme of federal structural reform without necessarily getting caught up in a fresh — and no doubt interminable — constitutional saga of uncertain outcome?

In any case, Canada's national debt and its forthcoming austerity programme will force the federal government to scale down its "spending power" and give greater freedom of action to its 10 provinces — and none more so than Quebec.

If the federalist camp were misguided enough to miss this last opportunity to look at fresh solutions, the separatists, who believe that it is only a question of time before independence is achieved, might be tempted to marshal their troops once again some years from now.

"*A la prochaine*," shouted Jacques Parizeau, the [former] premier of Quebec, echoing the battle cry of his political master René Lévesque, after the 1980 referendum. Who knows? Next time things could indeed turn out the "right" way.

(November 1)

Russia's big spenders line Finnish pockets

Alain Debove in Vaalimaa

REIJO VUORELA runs a thriving little business empire in Vaalimaa, a Finnish town on the border with Russia, 180km from Helsinki and some 200km from St Petersburg. It consists of a café-restaurant, a supermarket, an exchange bureau and an office where tourists can get their VAT refunded.

He can issue visas ranging in duration from 24 hours to one year, and provides numerous services for lorry-drivers of all nationalities — extra insurance in case they are worried about the state of Russian roads, tourist information, free saunas and showers, and the use of a fax. His business, Aimoannos Market Vaalimaa, enjoys the great advantage of having no competitors. It tripled its turnover between 1990 and 1994.

Vuorela, who is in his forties, started operations in 1982 without imagining for a moment that one Mikhail Gorbachev would bring about the fall of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union. He opened a café for Soviet lorry-drivers and the few privileged tourists who were allowed to go on coach trips to the West for a few days.

"This border post was only created in 1958, and only stayed open in June, July and August," he says. "Until 1994 it closed between 10pm and 8am. Today the traffic never stops." The volume of traffic crossing the border in both directions rose from 300,000 vehicles in 1989 to 600,000 in 1991 and more than 800,000 last year.

Vuorela intends to open a 3,700-square-metre complex next year (three times the size of his present shopping space) a few kilometres from Vaalimaa next to a new and more functional border post. While he was explaining his plans to me, the alarm bell of an electronic gate at the exit of his supermarket suddenly began ringing.

"Another Russian!" he sighed. "It happens 10 times a day. They've got itchy fingers. They'll take anything, even a packet of sweets or paper hankies. I used to call the police, but they've got better things to do. So we deal with the problem ourselves: we jot down their passport numbers and ask them to go back through the checkout and pay for the goods they were trying to pinch. They agree without batting an eyelid."

The supermarket's Russian customers, who are mostly well-off, come to buy meat, sausages, tinned food and jam at Finnish prices, which are high, but not as high as they are back home. The Finnish, Swedish and Dutch retailers who have set up stores in St Petersburg offer the same choice and quality, but prohibitive taxes make it cheaper to go shopping in the West.

For decades Finland and the Soviet Union enjoyed thriving trade relations. They used the barter system: Finnish industry supplied ice-breakers, turn-key factories and consumer goods in return for Soviet gas and oil.

That system, which at one time accounted for almost 30 per cent of the Nordic countries' foreign trade, ended when Gorbachev came to power. Business is now done in hard currency. Helsinki no longer has a "special" trading relationship with Russia, but both countries are keen to increase co-operation and border trade.

With its population of 9 million, St Petersburg and its region have almost twice as many inhabitants as Finland. "It's also the Russian city with the highest proportion of wealthy people. We're lucky to have that kind of clientele the other side of the border, and we must try to make the most of it," says Ritva Löf, head of the tourist office in Kotka, a port of 55,000 inhabitants on the Gulf of Finland.

The Finns rightly feel that the Helsinki-St Petersburg axis is of strategic importance for the development of trade between the Russian Federation and the European Union (of which Finland has been a member since the beginning of the year), and that structural funds from Brussels could be used to improve the road and rail infrastructure in the region.

On the Finnish side work is already well advanced: sections of motorway have been completed, and the smallish trunk road leading to the border is being widened. In Russia, by way of contrast, lorries still drive on roads from another age, and the authorities seem in no hurry to modernise the network — at least not until they get aid from the European Union and the World Bank.

Apart from the question of transport, the main obstacle to a rapid increase in trade is a typically Russian phenomenon: red tape, petty obstructiveness and antiquated administrative methods, which, because of the intensity of road traffic, can result in massive tailbacks at the border.

"Russian customs officers love rubber stamps, but they must be round, and placed on a very precise part of any document. They hate rectangular stamps, and lozenge-shaped ones even more," says Jukka-Pekka Jaaskelainen, who set up a freight company last year a few kilometres from the customs post.

His main activity for the time being is providing shelter for western lorries which have been forced to turn back because of unpredictable behaviour by Russian customs officers.

"One day they might decide a load is too heavy, so we have to unload 10 tonnes of goods and put them temporarily in store. The next day, they will discover that a document is missing and say they need to phone Moscow — but they can't get through to Moscow. Nowadays Russian customs don't have any rules. They sometimes even think up new taxes."

The inhabitants of Kotka do everything they can to get rich Russians to stop off in their town rather than go straight on and spend their dollars or deutschmarks in Helsinki. As one of them admits: "It's not that we like them particularly, but they're loaded."

For three years now, the tourist office has handed out to visitors, as they come through customs or get their visa, a copy of West Side Store, a catalogue in Russian listing boutiques, stores, local artisans, doctors and dentists (who are very much in demand).

It looks like the Yellow Pages, but also contains a section in which the police give tips on how to park, use a parking meter and behave in a shop, and explain why it is a good idea to brake as you approach a pedestrian crossing. This rather condescending advice reflects a certain degree of resentment on the part of the local population.

YET Kotka tries to offer the best service possible. In June, July and August, and during the run-up to Christmas, the town council employs three young women armed with cellular phones, who patrol the streets in readiness for a call from any shopkeeper requiring the assistance of an interpreter.

Twenty-three-year-old Clara says: "It's a great summer job, but not always very pleasant, as the Russians like to stay independent and manage by themselves. What they're most interested in at the moment are fitted kitchens, furniture, stereo systems, electronic equipment and TV sets."

Pekka Ahonen, owner of the Classic House store, agrees: "Anything to do with housing or interior decoration is selling well at the moment, because St Petersburg is in the process of wholesale renovation. I sell a lot of artificial mouldings and cornices that are used in the restoration of old flats."

With the aim of promoting small and medium-sized companies and the *savoir-faire* of his region, the dynamic Ahonen and a dozen of his colleagues have opened an agency in St Petersburg, run by Russians, whose job is to monitor day-to-day changes in trading and customs legislation.

"That's essential if you want to build up long-term trading links with the Russians, otherwise you might as well just stock up with tubes of pep pills!

"The Russians are wonderful customers. They've got loads of money. It's only when they ask for something on account that I get a little less enthusiastic."

Jorma Karine, who runs a building materials business in the depths of the forest a few kilometres from the border, has also jumped on the Russian property bandwagon. Every week two lorryloads of materials leave his warehouse bound for St Petersburg.

"We Finns have dealt with the Russians for ages and we know exactly how to work with them", he said. "Even so, they never fail to surprise us. For instance, a Russian might turn up here intending to buy my complete stock of bricks, chipboard panels, window frames and paint, because he imagines I might run out of them tomorrow — and for some considerable time. Or it could be because he thinks prices might suddenly go through the roof."

Vuorela's electronic alarm rang out once again in his supermarket. "Everything is still very new to the Russians," he said. "Their mentality hasn't changed much. It's a pity, as the region of St Petersburg and the Gulf of Finland has a genuine growth potential. From time to time it gets so depressing one has to get away from it all."

That is what Vuorela and his wife did last year. They decided to spend a week's holiday at the luxury Hôtel Négresco in Nice. He almost freaked out when he boarded the plane in Helsinki: 50 per cent of the passengers were speaking Russian.

(November 2)

Violent times . . . a police van lies on its side after shopkeepers and artisans in Bordeaux demonstrated in favour of changes in their pension scheme PHOTOGRAPH REGIS DUVIGNEAU

French police are given new weapons to combat growing unrest in the suburbs

Erich Inciyan

IN THE wake of repeated outbreaks of violence on suburban housing estates, one of which resulted in a policeman being seriously wounded by a sniper, France's new head of public security, Daniel Dugléry, last week announced new measures aimed at improving law and order in these areas.

He said the number of specialised crime squads (BACs) would be increased to cover all the *départements* around Paris. BACs are usually made up of teams of three plain-clothes policemen who drive around in unmarked cars, mostly at night, with the aim of "jumping" petty delinquents.

More importantly, suburban police are going to get new equipment. This includes faster cars than their existing Renault 5s or 21s, bullet-proof jackets, and Flash Ball guns that fire rubber bullets (which are already in use in Switzerland and the United States).

The bulletproof jackets, which are lighter than existing models, are described officially as "discreet". In other words, they can be worn underneath a uniform or civilian clothes.

The black Flash Ball bullets, which are the size of ping-pong balls, are made of highly compressed rubber. Fired by a short gun with one or two barrels, the bullets are accurate over a distance of up to 12 metres and pack a punch as hard as a heavyweight's. They are designed to knock out, but not kill, their target. Five hundred of the guns are to be issued to the police, together with a warning that they are only to be used in self-defence.

Dugléry also announced that there would be greater coordination between various police departments operating in sensitive areas, as well as with the judiciary.

Students at police colleges will henceforth be trained to deal with urban violence, and field training courses will include trouble spots, so that new police officers can start their career with some direct experience of such problems.

These new police measures are a response to the increasing frequency of violent incidents in suburban areas, but are not intended to be seen as emergency action. The police regard the current upsurge in such incidents as reflecting seasonal variations: contrary to popular belief about "long hot summers", statistics suggest that unrest in suburban areas is worst in the spring and the autumn. Police sources claim that violence is still nowhere near as frequent or as serious as in the US.

The police trade unions have reacted cautiously to the new measures. However, Jacky Viallet, head of the largest union — the leftwing Fasp — described the measures as "useless" and "a smokescreen". He criticised them because they "tackle the effects and not the deeper causes of the breakdown in law and order in the suburbs, such as drug trafficking, the black economy generated by that activity, and even arms dealing, which is perhaps not unconnected with the rise of fundamentalism". Other police unions gave the measures a cautious welcome.

Meanwhile Eric Raoult, minister of integration, speaking in Arnouville, near Mantes-la-Jolie, said: "We should extend a hand to the inhabitants of problem areas, as the president of the republic said; but we should also make sure it doesn't get bitten."

(October 31)

More broken promises

Georges Marion

THE French government, through repeated failures in the way it communicates with the public, persists in doing the exact opposite of what it says it will do.

President Jacques Chirac's election pledge to lower taxation was conveniently forgotten the moment he took up office. His promise last week to tackle the problem of crime on suburban housing estates in an intelligent way has scarcely outlasted the television programme on which he announced it.

In answer to a question from a journalist, he told the nation that it was, above all, vital "to try to provide [the suburbs concerned] with economic activity, work and employment, and law and order will come gradually; but it cannot be given priority, because it will then look like provocation, and the effects of that are bad."

Few would quibble with those sentiments — except, it would seem, Daniel Dugléry, the new head of public security at the interior ministry, who announced, three days after Chirac's television appearance, that his own priority was to equip suburban police forces with fast cars, bullet-proof jackets and guns that fire rubber bullets.

Now no one would dispute that police forces in the suburbs of big cities operate under tricky and sometimes dangerous conditions. Only the other day, a policeman was shot and seriously wounded by a sniper in Mantes-la-Jolie, a notorious trouble spot west of Paris.

But the equipment the police are now being provided with is technically unsuited to deal with everyday incidents and may be a threat to their own safety.

The decision to make the use of bulletproof jackets more widespread — so the police will begin to look like the UN blue helmets in Bosnia — will send quite the wrong message to those confronting a police force whose job is to restore peace in trouble spots, and not to conquer an enemy.

As for the so-called harmless rubber bullets, youngsters in the suburbs have grown up on a diet of television pictures of the Intifada and clashes in South African townships, and know exactly what to expect. It is only to be feared, then, as Chirac himself suggested, that they may feel they are being subjected to provocation.

(October 31)

Italy's PM lives to fight another day

Marie-Claude Decamps in Rome

FOR months now, optimists have been claiming that Italy has seen the dawn of its "second republic". Unfortunately, all the evidence suggests that its first republic is still alive, if moribund, as it limps from one pseudo-crisis to another.

The old political monsters may have gone, but some of their practices linger on. There could have been no better demonstration of that than the latest abortive attempt by Silvio Berlusconi and the centre-right parties to pass a motion of no confidence against Lamberto Dini's government.

The motion would have been carried if everyone had voted as they said they would. But the communists of Rifondazione Comunista, who had announced their intention of supporting the motion, changed their minds at the last minute for such patently bogus reasons that the Chamber of Deputies fell about laughing.

Not only was the motion rejected, but it backfired politically on Berlusconi, the very man who had thought it up in the first place. "Il Cavaliere", who expected to lead his troops to victory, was forced to retire hurt.

Italy would have woken up on October 27 without a government if Fausto Bertinotti, secretary of Rifondazione Comunista and sworn enemy of the prime minister, had not realised at the last moment that his rank and file were in no mood to vote with the rightwing parties against Dini, as he had asked them to do. With his 24 deputies, he could have tipped the balance either way.

Such a vote would have made it impossible for the communists later to enter into any electoral pacts with centre-left parties and so would also have robbed them of seats in the parliament.

Given the urgency of the situation, Dini was moved to help Bertinotti get out of his predicament by solemnly pledging to step down as prime minister on December 31. Dini had announced anyway some time ago that he would go once he had seen the budget through and outlined legislation to provide all future candidates equal access to television. So his promise to Bertinotti did not cost him very dear.

In a skilful speech, Dini invoked the higher interests of state, which required that a budget be passed. Bertinotti, while announcing he was opposed to the budget and would not vote in favour of it, pretended to be swayed by those very same higher interests and eventually abstained in the vote of no confidence.

The whole episode would be of only anecdotal interest if the lira did not take a plunge every time there was a fresh threat of instability, and if, after the seismic "clean hands" drive against corruption which swept away the old political parties and shook the country's institutions to their foundations, Italy had succeeded in infusing itself with new political blood.

The political community as a whole is aware that an election is in the country's interest, but realises all too well that the first-past-the-post electoral system has not worked well. Instead of "polarising" political forces into two solid and well-knit blocs, it has resulted in a fragmentation of the old parties. To go into a general election in those circumstances is to run the risk of Italy becoming ungovernable once again.

That explains the survival since January of the present "government of technicians", headed by Berlusconi's former treasury minister. The way Dini filled a vacuum and put in a respectable performance on the international stage suited a lot of people, and papered over the cracks.

A curious balance was achieved between a government that was by definition "transitional" and President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, who was lent added weight by the political emergency and institutional crisis.

That whole illusory house of cards collapsed when the progressives of the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), Dini's main source of support, voted with those who called for the sacking of justice minister Filippo Mancuso, who was waging open war against magistrates in Milan.

It became clear during the debate in Italy's upper house, preceding its vote of no confidence against the justice minister, that the government had long been a "government of technicians" in name only. Berlusconi promptly seized the opportunity for which he had been waiting for 10 months to try to get his revenge.

SO YET another crisis has been weathered, but nothing has been solved. All that can be said is that the situation has been clarified: the centre-left parties make up the official majority, and the centre-right parties now regard themselves as being in opposition.

Dini has officially won a two-month stay of execution, but it is far from certain that he will succeed in pushing his finance act through, since both the right and the communist left have promised to fight it.

And the victory he snatched in the Chamber of Deputies could well turn out to be Pyrrhic, a theory already advanced by Gianfranco Fini, Berlusconi's ally and leader of the right-wing National Alliance.

What happens now? Anything is possible. The centre-right parties can do nothing without Berlusconi, yet Berlusconi, who is due to go on trial in January on bribery charges, is now his party's biggest liability.

As for the centre-left bloc, it is still hamstrung by its alliances. If it leans too far to the left, it will lose the support of the centrists; and if it shifts too far to the right, it will alienate the communists.

In the circumstances some people are beginning to wonder whether Dini, if he manages to finish his time in office without leaving things in too much of a mess, may not be able to stay on in power with a broader-based majority after his official resignation on December 31. That at least would have the advantage of giving Italy a semblance of stability as it takes up the European Union presidency.

(October 28)

Le Monde

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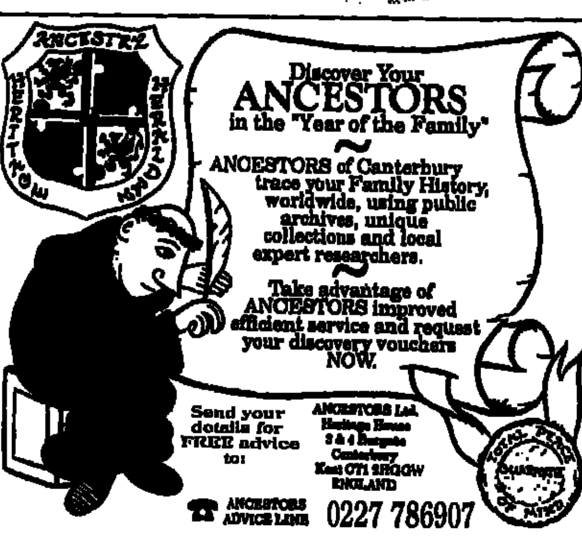
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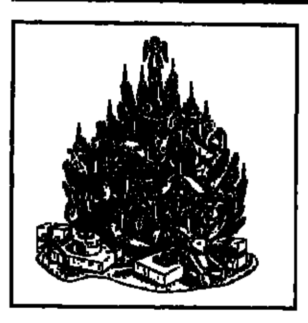


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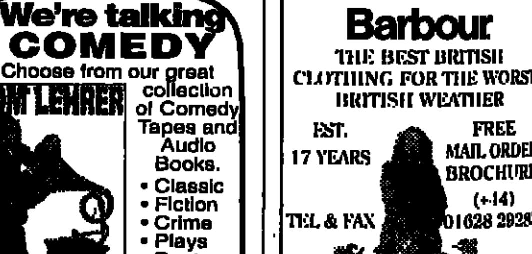


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Association of Commonwealth Universities



For further details of any of the following staff vacancies please contact the Appointments Department, ACU, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK (internat. tel. +44 171 813 3024 [24 hour answerphone]; fax +44 171 813 3055; e-mail: appts.acu@ucl.ac.uk), quoting reference number of post(s). Details will be sent by airmail/first class post. A sample copy of the publication *Appointments in Commonwealth Universities*, including subscription details, is available from the same source.

University	Post	Ref. No.
AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN		
Botswana	AP/SL Political & Administrative Studies	W44450
Botswana	L Law	W44457
Botswana	Senior Internal Auditor	W44458
Botswana	L Human Geography	W44459
Cape Town (South Africa)	Chair of Sociology	W44449
NUST (Zimbabwe)	P Civil & Water Engineering	W44442
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Zimbabwe	P Biochemistry	W44460
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Business Studies	W44461
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Educational Foundations	W44462
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Surveying	W44463
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Surgery	W44464
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Biochemistry	W44465
Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Mathematics	W44466
Zimbabwe	RAP/SRF/RF Wood Technology Centre	W44467
AUSTRALIA		
Adelaide	P Sustainable Agricultural Production	W44431
ANU (Canberra)	F/RF/PDF Economics	W44434
ANU (Canberra)	L Economics	W44452
HONG KONG		
Hong Kong Polytechnic Univ.	AP Maritime Studies	W44453
Hong Kong UST	Head, Department of Accounting	W44435
Univ. Hong Kong	L Clinical Psychology	W44433
Univ. Hong Kong	Registrar	W44451
Univ. Hong Kong	SL Business Studies/Management Studies	W44471
NEW ZEALAND		
Otago (Dunedin)	L Psychology	W44472
Otago (Dunedin)	L Chemistry	W44473
PACIFIC		
South Pacific (Fiji)	L Land Management & Development	W44468
South Pacific (Fiji)	R/SL Accounting & Financial Management	W44469
South Pacific (Fiji)	L Accounting & Financial Management	W44470
South Pacific (Solomon Isles)	Director, Institute of Marine Resources	W44437
UNITED KINGDOM		
Oxford	P Government	W44432

Abbreviations: P - Professor; AP - Associate Professor; R - Reader; SL - Senior Lecturer; L - Lecturer; RAP - Research Associate Professor; SRF - Senior Research Fellow; F - Fellow; RF - Research Fellow; PDF - Postdoctoral Fellow.

MANAGING DIRECTOR

Based in Peshawar, Pakistan **Starting 1 June 1996**

Afghanaid has been giving humanitarian aid to the Afghan people since 1983. With around 200 staff (most of them Afghan) and a budget of about £1.5 million, we have established a reputation as a well run and effective organisation. Continuing our rehabilitation programme in rural Afghanistan, this year we changed our strategy to focus on helping the poorest communities meet their basic needs. As a result, we have been piloting a community development approach in one of Afghanistan's most remote areas.

We are looking for someone who has the vision and skills to help us see through these important changes. She/he will have over five years' senior management experience in an international development agency, preferably some of it working in Asia and a conflict area. If you have expertise in managing policy and strategy on behalf of a Committee, can demonstrate your capacity for raising funds from institutions and enjoy taking responsibility for people and plans, please get in touch.

The post is based at our Head Office, currently in Peshawar, involves regular travel in Afghanistan and Europe, pays a tax-free salary of £25,131 pa plus a comprehensive benefits package, and has a 3-year renewable contract.

For an information pack, tel UK-171-278-2832 or fax UK-171-837-8155, or write to Marina Afzal, Afghanaid, 292 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NR. Closing date 22 December 1995, interviews late January 1996.

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MINES ADVISORY GROUP OVERSEAS VACANCIES

The Mines Advisory Group is an international humanitarian charity (UK registered) committed to addressing the problem of landmines and unexploded ordnance among the most vulnerable communities worldwide. MAG operates in North Iraq, Angola, Cambodia, Laos, Zambia and Zaire implementing humanitarian mine clearance and community mine awareness education programmes. MAG is totally committed to a global ban on landmines and is a member of the Steering Committee of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.

Regional Director - Southern Africa (Required asap): MAG runs an integrated programme of mine awareness and mine/ordnance eradication in eastern Angola, as well as mine awareness programmes amongst Angolan refugees in Zambia and Zaire. Based in Luanda the RD will co-ordinate all MAG programmes in southern Africa. The individual required will have excellent representational and management skills as well as strong leadership, ideally gained in the humanitarian sector overseas. Ability to speak Portuguese and French would be advantageous.
This is a re-advertisement, previous applicants need not apply.

CMAP Manager - Angola (Required asap) : MAG will be expanding their integrated clearance and mine awareness programmes to other areas in eastern Angola. We are looking for a CMAP Manager who will be responsible for the implementation of the mine awareness component of the programme. The successful candidate will have community development experience and/or experience in village level communication programmes. Training and management skills are essential. Ability to speak Portuguese would be an advantage. The successful candidate may be required at times to work as the only senior staff member in often difficult situations.

Programme Director - North Iraq (Required February 1996): MAG has worked in the Kurdish controlled region of Iraq since 1992, running an integrated programme of mine/ordnance eradication, demarcation, and community mine awareness. The programme operates with over 500 national staff working from six operational bases spread across the region. Senior international management experience, preferably with an NGO, is desirable together with excellent representational and communication skills.

Administration Coordinator - North Iraq (Required asap): An experienced administrator with training skills is required for a minimum of three months (extension dependent on funding in 1996). Duties will involve the strengthening of financial, logistical and administrative systems within this complex and geographically dispersed programme. Working closely with the national administrator the post-holder will also identify and address the training needs of our national non-technical staff.
This is a re-advertisement, previous applicants need not apply.

Survey Manager - Laos: required for an Unexploded Ordnance Impact Survey. MAG Laos hopes to be awarded this month a contract by UNDP to conduct a nationwide study that will seek to document the social and economic impact of unexploded ordnance (UXO). The contract period will be January - September 1996. The Survey Manager will have skills in some or all of the following areas: community development, experience in village level education and communication programmes, participatory survey techniques and data gathering activities, especially agricultural base line surveys. Ability to prioritise, provide effective management and work to tight deadlines will be essential. The successful candidate must be available to leave for Laos by 1 January 1996. Position subject to funding confirmation.

Volunteers to work as Project Monitors - Laos: required for the Unexploded Ordnance Impact Survey. MAG requires 2-4 volunteers to work as project monitors on the nationwide study as above. The positions will be on a volunteer basis, MAG covering all in-country costs relating to the post and providing a small stipend for personal spending. Successful candidates can expect to spend between 3 and 6 months in Laos during the first half of 1996, and will be based in the provinces.
Experience of community development work and survey techniques will be important, but candidates who feel they can offer other relevant skills or experience should also apply. Positions subject to funding confirmation.

For all vacancies a technical knowledge of mines and ordnance is not required, however experience of relief and development issues is essential. MAG offers a competitive salary, flights and insurance package. Please send CV with at least two referees to: Ms Claire Harrison, Administration Officer, Mines Advisory Group, 54A Main Street, Cockermouth, Cumbria CA13 9LU. Fax (+44) 1900 827088. Closing date for the Administration Coordinator, N Iraq is **15 November 1995**. Closing date for the CMAP Manager, Angola is **22 November 1995** and interviews for this post will be held on 4/5 December. For all other posts the closing date is **1 December 1995.**

Berkshire YOUNG MUSICIANS Trust

PRINCIPAL

The Trustees of the Berkshire Young Musicians Trust invite applications from suitably qualified and experienced people for the post of Principal.

For several years Berkshire has been in the vanguard of change in it provision of high quality musical opportunities to young people, with many instrumental and choral groups gaining recognition at national and international level. The Trust is looking to appoint a Principal who can build on these achievements and further develop music service to schools, area music centres, the local community and at county level.

Applicants should be professional musicians and/or music educators of distinction with wide and relevant experience, preferably to include proven ability as a senior manager and leader of a large team of professional staff. In particular, applicants must possess sound musical and commercial judgement. Salary will be commensurate with the high level of responsibility.

Further details are available from Monica Roberts, Berkshire Young Musicians Trust, Mockbeggar, 25 Whiteknights Road, Reading, Berkshire RG6 2BT. Telephone: 01734 665015. Fax: 01734 353419. Closing date for applications: Friday 24th November 1995. Interviews will take place mid December 1995.

FACULTY OF SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT: PURE AND APPLIED MATHEMATICS

Lecturer: Mathematics

Requirements: A Master's degree in Pure Mathematics with teaching experience at tertiary institutions. A PhD will be a recommendation.

Job description: Teaching of courses in Pure Mathematics at under-graduate level and the servicing of courses.

DEPARTMENT: COMPUTER SCIENCE

Lecturer (3 POSTS)

Requirements: M Sc in Computer Science or IS; 2 years lecturing experience, extensive commercial/industrial systems experience; proficiency with Networking; knowledge of OOL and OOD and preferably ORACLE.

Job description: Lecturing at undergraduate level; consulting on local and University network; database administration.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 January 1996.

Closing date: 30 November 1995.

FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

Lecturer/Senior Lecturer Accounting

Requirements: An appropriate accounting qualification.

Job description: Lecturing Accounting to B Comm students.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 February 1996.

Closing date: 30 November 1995.

Contact persons: Dolly Nashandih-Endjambi at (061) 207-2295 or Immanuel Nawaseb at (061) 207-2002.

Fringe benefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: ● pension fund ● medical aid scheme ● annual bonus ● home-ownership scheme ● generous leave privileges ● relocation expenses.

Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a curriculum vitae, giving full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Selection, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary telegraphic applications may be made via telex 56-727 or fax to (061) 207-2105/207-2444.

Please note: International dialling code applies.

UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

ADMARK S5041/P560

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT: MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE EDUCATION
NAMSEP PROJECT

Senior Lecturer

The chief objective of this appointment is the founding of the NAMSEP Project which will focus on the improvement of Mathematics and Science teaching in Namibian Secondary schools. The project will be launched in 1997 and programme graduates will be awarded a B Ed degree upon completion of a 4-year course or a diploma after 3 years.

Requirements: As driving force behind the development and implementation of this new project, the candidate envisaged will hold a master's degree/higher qualification in Education or in one of the following five specialist areas: Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Mathematics or Computer Science coupled with a postgraduate qualification in the field of education. A minimum of 6 years teaching experience at secondary or tertiary level, strong leadership and administrative skills and the ability to liaise effectively at all levels is essential. A proven track record with similar projects will enhance the application.

Job description: The implementation and management of the NAMSEP Project until at least 1999; the development and implementation of programmes which address the critical shortage of Mathematics and Science teachers throughout the country; lecturing in Science/Mathematics; research and any related tasks as assigned by the Head of Department.

FACULTY OF SCIENCE – DEPARTMENT: PHYSICS

Lecturer

Requirements: Ph D in Experimental Physics; some lecturing experience at undergraduate level; proven research in Electronics or related field.

Job description: Lecturing Physics to undergraduate students; preparing and presenting laboratory classes; research activity in a related field.

Date of assumption of duties: As soon as possible.

Closing date: 30 November 1995.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT: INFORMATION STUDIES

Associate Professor

Requirements: A Doctorate in Information Studies (Library and Information Science); extensive lecturing experience particularly in the field of community librarianship; a proven record of research and publications in this field; proven expertise in the field of information studies/librarianship. A background in journalism and publishing will serve as recommendation. Administrative skills are essential.

Job description: Presenting lectures in Theory of Information Studies ● User Studies ● Management of Information and Information services ● Community Librarianship ● Research methods. Relevant research on aspects of the field. The incumbent should play a leading role in the launching of new course modules in journalism and publishing and will also be responsible to do groundwork for the possible establishment of a Centre for Media Studies. Also included are administrative duties and community service.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 April 1996.

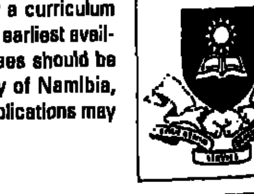
Closing date: 20 November 1995.

Contact persons: Dolly Nashandih-Endjambi at (061) 207-2295 or Immanuel Nawaseb at (061) 207-2002.

Fringe benefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: ● pension fund ● medical aid scheme ● annual bonus ● home-ownership scheme ● generous leave privileges ● relocation expenses.

Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a curriculum vitae, giving full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Selection, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary telegraphic applications may be made via telex 56-727 or fax to (061) 207-2105/207-2444.



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PROGRAMME MANAGER
North and East Sri Lanka

SCF has been working in the north and east of Sri Lanka for over 10 years and has started to focus its programming on children to a greater degree than has been the case in its broad relief and rehabilitation work in these conflict affected areas.

To take this programme through this transitional phase, we are looking for a strong programme manager with substantial international experience of managing development programmes demonstrating strong analytical and planning skills; familiarity with programming related to children in conflict and the principles of participatory methods and child focused work.

This post has accompanied status and is offered on an initial 25 month contract with a salary of £19,294 which should be tax free. You can also expect a generous benefits package including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

For further details and an application form please write to Janet Curtis-Broni, Overseas Personnel, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD. Fax: 0171 793 7610.

Closing date: 8th December 1995

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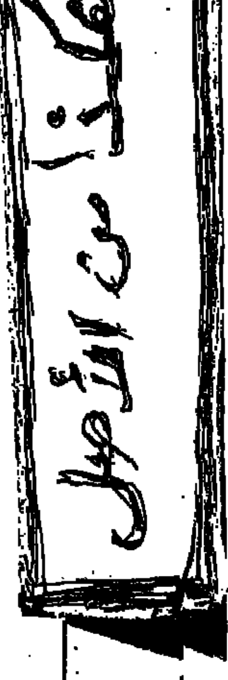
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For further details, contact:
Department Assistant, Sociology Department, University of Essex, Colchester, CO4 3SQ, UK
Tel: 01206 873055 or fax: 01206 873410







THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

DEPARTMENT OF HISPANIC STUDIES

INSTITUTIONAL FELLOWSHIP

Applications are invited for the above Fellowship which is funded by the Humanities Research Board of the British Academy and is tenable for four years starting early in 1996 but subject to satisfactory performance, the appointment may be continued by the University. The successful applicant will work on the Pérez Galdós Editions Project, under the direction of Professor Nicholas Round and Professor Geoffrey Ribbans. Using technical resources developed in the University's Humanities Research Institute, the project aims to produce definitively-edited texts of Galdós' fiction, with a wide range of supportive and illustrative materials.

Initial salary will not be higher than point 2 of the Lecturer Grade B scale, £21,519 pa.

Informal enquires to Professor Round (Tel: 0114-276 8555, Ext 4401; Fax: 0114-273 9826).

Closing date for applications:
1 December 1995. (Ref: R795)

Further particulars from the Director of Human Resource Management, The University of Sheffield, Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TN, Tel: 0114-282 4144.

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REDD BARNA

Due to a Guardian Weekly production error the recruitment advertisement for Redd Barna that appeared in last weeks Appointments Section was incorrect.

We would like to apologise for any inconvenience this may have caused.

The position currently available at Redd Barna appears on page 24.

香港大學
THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

Registrarship in the University Registry

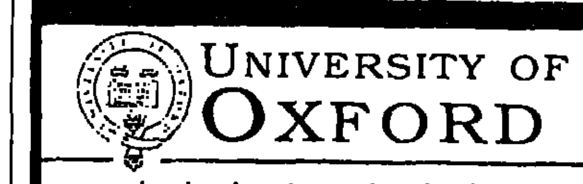
Applications are invited from suitably qualified applicants for the post of Registrar in the University Registry (RF-95/96-42), tenable from 1 July 1996.

The appointee will lead a unitary Registry of some 300 staff which provides administrative support to the officers and committees which determine University policy. The Registry's four sections deal with academic and student-related matters, staffing and personnel, research and postgraduate students, and development planning. The Registrar is formally the Secretary of the University Court, the Council, the Senate and the Boards of the nine Faculties, and is also responsible for co-ordinating the Registry's work with that of the Finance Office and the Estates Office.

Annual salary will be within the professorial range, of which the minimum is HK$1,007,220, and the average is HK$1,245,780 per annum (approx. £82,560 & £102,115 respectively; sterling equivalents as at 26 October 1995). The University would prefer to make a permanent, superannuable, appointment, but a fixed-term contract for three years (renewable) with a 15% terminal gratuity would be considered. The current rate of salaries tax in Hong Kong is 15%. Benefits include University housing at a charge of a percentage of salary, currently 7½%, children's education allowances, some 10 weeks leave per year, assistance with passages and removal expenses, and a largely free medical service. The University's normal retirement age is 60.

Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from Appointments (44451), Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF (tel. 0171 387 8572 ext.206; fax 0171 813 3055; email: appts.acu@ucl.ac.uk), or from the Appointments Unit, Registry, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong (fax: [852] 2559 2058; E-mail: APPTUNIT@REG.HKU.HK). Particulars are also available on the University's listserv accessed by E-mail as "listserv@hkuvm1.hku.hk" (specify "get apptment filelist" for list of vacant posts).

Closes 11 January 1996.



UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Junior Lecturership in the Modern Politics and Society of China

Applications are invited for the above post, tenable from 1 January 1996 or as soon as possible thereafter, stipend according to age on the scale, £14,317 - £16,528 per annum. The lecturer will be expected to teach and do advanced research on the Modern Politics and Society of China, broadly understood. Depending upon the interests of the successful candidate, he or she will be expected to become a member of either the Social Studies Faculty and/or the Anthropology and Geography Faculty.

Further particulars (containing details of the duties and full range of emoluments and allowances attaching to the post) may be obtained from Miss S Byrch, The Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE (telephone 01865 278222), to whom applications (eleven copies, or one from overseas applicants) should be sent not later than Thursday 30 November 1995.

The University exists to promote excellence in education and research, and is an equal opportunities employer.

CIDSE CAMBODIA, LAOS, VIETNAM PROGRAMME

Coordinator/Trainer - Laos

CIDSE seeks a Coordinator/Trainer for an integrated rural development programme in Bolikhamsay Province, Laos. Experience in community development training and programme coordination require.

Credit Advisor - Vietnam

CIDSE seeks a Credit Advisor for a credit and savings programme in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. 5-10 years experience with poverty lending methodologies and institutionalising credit required.

Both posts - two years, beginning immediately. Full job descriptions and person specifications are available. Applications close 1 December 1995.

To apply, send your CV with referees to.
CIDSE CLV Programme, Huidevettersstraat 165, 1000 Brussels, BELGIUM.
Fax (32-2) 502 51.27, Email clvprog@eunet.be



Following the opening of an Oxfam Emergency Programme in Liberia in September 1995, we are seeking a team to implement and develop the programme. The focus will be on relief and rehabilitation and supporting local organisations and initiatives where possible. The programme currently has a one year duration, and will be reappraised in September 1996. These postings are likely to involve long working hours in stressful conditions and areas of insecurity.

All contract lengths: 9 months - Liberia

Emergency Programme Co-ordinator

Salary: £20,277 per annum

Key competencies: Management experience, experience of assessment, planning and implementation of relief/rehabilitation programmes, communications skills. **Ref: OS/EPC/LIB/GW.**

Relief Co-ordinator

Salary: £18,091 per annum

Key competencies: Practical experience of relief programme implementation. **Ref: OS/RC/LIB/GW.**

Water and Sanitation Engineer

Salary: £18,091 per annum

Key competencies: Practical experience in the design and implementation of emergency public health programmes. **Ref: OS/WSE/LIB/GW.**

Health Co-ordinator

Salary: £18,091 per annum

Key competencies: Experience of developing public health rehabilitation strategies, including all aspects of health and nutrition, including emergency feeding programmes. **Ref: OS/HC/LIB/GW.**

Agricultural Rehabilitation Project Manager

Salary: £18,091 per annum

Key competencies: Experience in managing food security programmes, and the rehabilitation of agricultural production systems. **Ref: OS/ARPM/LIB/GW.**

Social Development Advisor

Salary: £18,091 per annum

Key competencies: Practical experience of social development work within relief/rehabilitation programme implementation, professional qualification in social sciences/development. **Ref: OS/SDA/LIB/GW.**

Office Manager

Salary: £15,210 per annum

Key competencies: Office management experience including accounting, systems management, personnel and logistics. **Ref: OS/OM/LIB/GW.**

For further details on any of the above posts please send a large stamped addressed envelope to the International Human Resources Department, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, clearly quoting the appropriate reference.

Closing date: 9th December 1995. Interviews: To Be Arranged.

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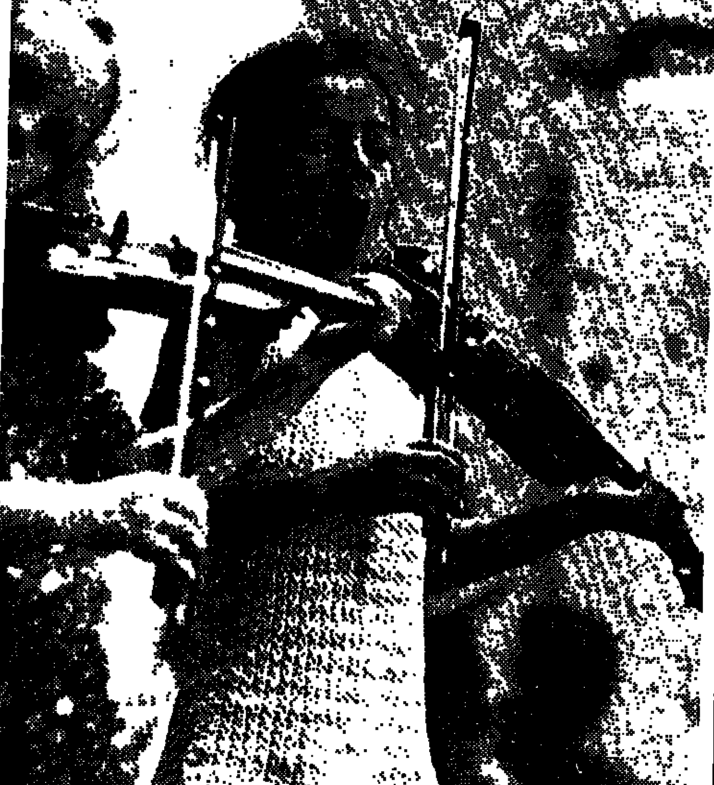
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PROPERTY




A three-year-old pupil of the Suzuki method of violin instruction — Denis Thorpe's own favourite picture

Armed with a Leica

THE Guardian photographer Denis Thorpe (pictured right) has been awarded an honorary MA from Manchester university, *writes Alan Rusbridger*.

It is a fitting acknowledgment of a career that began on the Mansfield Reporter in 1948 and has led to Thorpe's widespread recognition as one of the great post-war photojournalists.

Denis became a staff photographer on the Guardian in 1974 after 17 years in the Daily Mail's Manchester office. Since then he has travelled round the world, photographing wars, strikes, famines and riots as well as pubs, fishermen, miners and the contours and patterns of countryside around the North of England.

He shares with that other great photographer Jane Bown the advantage of camouflage. The innocent bystander, relying on flak-jacket stereotypes drawn from television or cinema, would not naturally suspect either Denis or Jane of being a press photographer.

Jane tends to tuck her camera into her shopping bag as she sets out on a job. Denis, dressed as often as not in an anorak and flat cap, seems to blend into any background, sometimes armed only with his trusty Leica.

There were times when I worked with him when even I did not spot that he was snatching a shot from waist level while looking in another direction.

Once on a job he is quietly and politely tenacious. He said of one photograph he attempted — a five-second exposure at night of a police helicopter hovering over the riot-torn Strangeways prison: "If a picture looks impossible, it's still worth attempting."

It is that attitude — coupled with a faultless technique — which has won him this degree.

No award was more literally deserved, for Denis is, indeed, a Master of his Art.

A Country Diary

William Condry

MACHYNLLETH: I don't remember when we had such a wonderful fall of acorns as we have here at present. It is not only their huge numbers but also their great size that is remarkable. I am reminded how in Tudor times some landowners began to think seriously about planting oakwoods to replace the many which had been cleared for agriculture. They appreciated a good acorn year, selecting the biggest they could find in the belief that these would grow into the finest oaks. They knew that acorns never carpet the ground for very long, being a favourite food of pigs and other domestic animals, along with squirrels and other rodents; and also of jays, rooks, crows, ravens, pheasants and wood-pigeons. Acorns which do not get eaten may die and rot into the soil or germinate. So, by mid-November, acorns need to be searched for, even where they covered the ground in October. One thing is sure: mother nature never gives up in her hope of covering our world with oak forest, as it was a few thousand years ago. Yet the reality is that an acorn these days has about as much chance of growing into a mighty oak as any of us have of winning the top prize in the National Lottery.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

IS IT TRUE that even a blind chameleon can change its colour to that of its surroundings?

THE CHAMELEON'S colour has nothing to do with vision, but a lot to do with the texture of the surface it is on. You can test this easily by putting a chameleon on a soft red blanket and watch it turn the colour of lush green vegetation, then on a hard green surface like bathroom tiles, and watch it turn the colour of the rock it usually adapts to. — *Brian MacGarry, Magunje, Zimbabwe*

WHY DO we "pull someone's leg"? Why not an arm?

THOMAS HOOD wrote in his poem The Last Man (1827):

"I must turn my cup of sorrow
quite up,
And drink it to the dregs,
For there is not another man alive,
In the world to pull my legs!

He was referring to the fact that, before the invention of the long drop in executions by hanging, the friends of the criminal were permitted to pull his legs in order to shorten his suffering. This developed into a sick joke that one's friends would always be around to pull one's legs if needed. — *Brian Palmer, Noke Side, Herts*

HOW CAN I prove that you exist?

I WRITE, therefore I am. — *Lawrence Fotheringham, Chatham, Ontario, Canada*

HAS anybody tried to decimalise time?

DECIMAL time was the one interesting feature of a factory job that I had briefly in Devon in the seventies. At the end of each shift I had to write up a time sheet using codes for my very limited range of activities, giving the duration of each in hours and tenths of an hour. There was even a code for sitting waiting to be told what to do next. I adapted to the six-minute blocks of time far better than the rest of the job. — *Robert L Brock, Tokyo, Japan*

ARE THERE any animals that have fingerprints?

CERTAIN skin cells of fish (including those of fins, the equivalent of our limbs) bear patterns of ridges similar to fingerprints. While it is known that fish commit "crimes" within the high seas (extending from common assault to territorial occupancy by force), they regrettably leave no "fin prints". Although the unique pattern of epidermal whorls on the digits of primates such as ourselves can serve as a means of recognising individuals, DNA fingerprinting, which has the potential to identify every single non-clonal living organism, is much more effective. — *Clive W Evans, Auckland, New Zealand*

IN 1947 at the Yellow Fever Research Institute in Yaba, Nigeria, we kept over 100 rhesus monkeys for research. Since all rhesus monkeys look alike we came up with the idea of identifying individuals by palm-printing. It worked well. — *James Judd, Deep River, Ontario, Canada*

HOW DOES a seedless grape reproduce itself?

GRAPES do not reproduce if left to their own devices. However, sections of cane can be taken in autumn, stored in cool temperatures over winter and placed outside in an appropriate soil in the spring to allow root and shoot development. Commercial growers usually encourage root production by treating the canes with a variety of chemicals. A second technique is termed "embryo rescue". Seedless fruit plants are varieties selected by growers in which a genetic mutation has resulted in seeds failing to reach maturity. The embryo is a pre-seed stage of development still present in the seedless grape at the site where the seed would have been. Embryos can be removed from the grape and placed in tissue culture medium. Under certain conditions the embryo, which would not normally have grown, will develop into a new plant. — *Dr Jamie Day, Dunedin, New Zealand*

Any answers?

WHY IS it that, no matter how dark the room, or whether my eyes are open or closed, I can see millions of tiny spots of light? — *Joy Connacher, North Shields, Tyne and Wear*

IN ITALY a fiasco is what you buy Chianti in, so how did it acquire the English meaning which gets so much use nowadays? — *Richard Williams, London*

OCCASIONALLY one sees paperweights made from glass or clear plastic with objects embedded within. Do kits exist or are there books available on how to make them? — *Ian Trau, Switzerland*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Notes & Queries Volume 6 is now available, published by Fourth Estate, price £6.99

Letter from Uzbekistan Jennifer Balfour

A family affair

I SAT HOLDING the edge of a sheet shielding the new bride from her wedding-frenzied relatives. She sat behind it waiting the arrival of her husband-to-be. In front of her was a plate piled high with flour, pierced by two tottering candles and a couple of hard-boiled eggs.

Only her grandmother, holding the other edge of the sheet, seemed to remember what it had been like for her almost 60 years ago, when she also had never met the man in whose bed she was to sleep at night.

The tiny, hunched-backed figure whispered reassuringly to her granddaughter, now curled around her knees, sobbing inconsolably.

Eighteen-year-old Firuza was to marry her uncle. She had seen him at family functions, but her father was strict about such matters. "I will only speak to my husband on my wedding night," she told me.

There was a commotion at the door and the room, which until then had been the province of women, was suddenly invaded by a man, resplendent in a gold turban and a glimmering, gold-encrusted velvet coat. He was surrounded by chanting women throwing money in every direction.

As children dived for the bounty, Firuza erupted again. An ageing aunt beside me couldn't understand her distress. "She's marrying her uncle. It's not as if we are giving her away. She is not leaving us really. We won't lose our gold, our clothes, our shoes or our fine cloth," she said.

The whole event had been a bit of a rush job. Firuza had, at birth, been promised to her father's best friend's son. If that liaison had gone ahead, however, Firuza's uncle, now imminently marriageable at 25, would have been left out in the cold. A family feud was brewing. An elder sister saved the day by promising to marry the first boy, and peace was restored. Suddenly, though, the uncle's father fell gravely ill and to avoid a year's delay if he were to die, the ceremony was brought forward. She was told last week she would be married today.

After a series of blessings and incantations behind the sheet, the grand finale of which involved thrusting a male child in Firuza's face for fertility purposes, the bemused groom left his teary bride. She was to stay one more night before leaving the family home for good. Dressed in traditional black, knee-length boots, a long dress and the *paranji*, a dark veil covering everything from her face to her ankles to "protect" her from unwelcome gazes, Firuza sprawled exhausted on a multi-coloured silk mattress and waited for the dawn.

We all filed in again at 8am and breakfasted with a red-faced and puffy-eyed Firuza still huddled behind the screen.

Her father came to say goodbye. She knelt, as was the custom, and kissed his feet three times. Crying, they embraced each other.

"Goodbye, my daughter," he whispered. Lifting her gently over his shoulders, he bundled her into a waiting car.

Her family watched as she was driven, unseeing, into a new life. They turned and went inside with heads bowed, tears trickling down her younger brothers' faces, and the words, "she'll get used to it", still heavy on her aunt's lips.

I did not see her again for six months. She was very pregnant and very blooming. "He is a good man," she beamed. "He doesn't beat me and he allows me to visit my family when I like."

She seemed happy. Perhaps indeed, she was getting used to it.

Young at heart

DANCE
Judith Mackrell


Imagination in overdrive: Merce Cunningham's work shows freshness and boldness PHOTO: DAVID SILLITOE

CHOREOGRAPHY, it's often claimed, is a young man's art — but whoever said it first couldn't have imagined the magnificence of Merce Cunningham's latest work. All of the choreography danced by his company in their London season at Sadler's Wells last week was made during the past four years (ie, by Cunningham in his mid-70s) and all of it shows a freshness and boldness that young men might go whistle for. Fatigue and repetition are not words in his creative vocabulary.

In the spare, haunting beauty of Beach Birds (1991), for instance, abstraction and expression meet at some distant vanishing point. To John Cage's score of gently tinkled piano and rustling percussion, Cunningham sets up a seascape of watery horizons and flocking birds. As the dancers stalk the stage on long, taut legs, their delicately shaken feet splash drops of water and their bodies are weighted heavily and humourously forward.

The paradox of Cunningham's choreography is that it sends your imagination into overdrive even while it's scrupulously concerned with the mechanics of dance making.

Ground Level Overlay (1995) is even more packed with flickering gesture, richly torqued jumps and startlingly interlocked bodies. The dancers look like intricately carved figures who've been launched into acrobatic flight. The intensity of the movement is fabulously heightened by Stuart Dempster's echoing brass score and by the dark forms of Leonardo Drew's hanging set. As with all Cunningham's work, music and design were added after the choreography. Yet the coincidences between them are uncanny.

CRWDSPCR (1993) definitely makes us think computer — simply by the complexity with which Cunningham sets 13 figures jigging and whipping round the stage — their bodies interconnecting like a huge jigsaw puzzle, their energy coming and going in darts and squibs.

But a retrospective glance over this year's Dance Umbrella reveals that an even greater tribute to Cunningham is how unrecognisable it would all have been without him. It's true that during the eighties his influence declined. To a generation hungry for hot messages and gut-wrenching dance, Cunningham's commitment to pure movement seemed thin-blooded. But even so, the thread didn't break. For in Umbrella's opening week we not only saw work by fiftysomething Steve Paxton (one-time dancer with Cunningham) but also by twentysomething Wayne McGregor whose mix of classical stretch and gestural quirk is a recognisable offspring of Cunningham's style. Last week featured Richard Alston, who studied with Cunningham in New York, and also Mark Baldwin, who not only danced with Alston but whose own choreography descends directly from the Cunningham line.

What Baldwin has inherited is partly just the knowledge that dance is interesting as pure composition — it doesn't need stories to tell. But he's also inherited Cunningham's ability to find dance in any movement — from a comically flapping hand to an arabesque, and he's built on Cunningham's axiom that choreography makes its own rhythms independently of music.

His own solo, Factual Nonsense, is a hilarious example. Danced in silence, it's a delightful send-up of himself that is part precocious camp, part pretentious seriousness and part nervous performer — his rubbery, gesticulating movements creating a breathlessly unstable monologue. But, disappointingly, Baldwin doesn't always make it clear what his music and his dance mean to him. Works like Julia and Vespri are shapely and interesting, but they are frustratingly opaque. Baldwin, however, has only been a full-time choreographer for a couple of years. Cunningham has been on the job for half a century.

Dogged ambition

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

THERE used to be a simple but effective rule in westerns. If a stranger got off the stagecoach *and kicked a dog*, he was the bad guy. We all knew where we were then, particularly the dog.

The Final Cut (BBC1) started with Prime Minister Francis Urquhart shooting his dog. In The House Of Cards, FU flung his mistress from dizzy parapet to bottomless perdition — it must have been something she said — but, dammit, his dog! He has now gone too far.

The poor old bitch is decently buried. At which point we cut to Lady Thatcher's state funeral.

Michael Dobbs, the author, who felt this was also going too far, removed his name from the credits. They now read baldly: "Based on the novel The Final Cut", as if the book had been found fatherless in a handbag at Victoria station.

If you hadn't read about this little dust-up, you wouldn't know immediately whose state funeral it was. Camera and commentary lingered on "the young king". A surprise this as the sovereign does not attend any funeral but his own.

Andrew Davies, the screenwriter, also amuses himself by improving on Dobbs's names for the cabinet. He gives them predatory names. Sparrowhawk and Crow, Polecutt (pronounced Polecat), Rayner (pronounced Reynard) and Wolfin. Poor little Crumb, not surprisingly, is quickly brushed aside.

There is something bestial about the whole bunch of them. Urquhart glares icily at the luckless Crumb like a haddock asked by a sprat for the loan of a fiver till Friday. Beasts, offended at this association with ministers, should ask to have their names taken off the credits.

Tony Warren's head was blocking part of the window of The Rovers Return. We could read *Best Bit*. Warren, who created Coronation Street, was definitely the best bit.

The South Bank Show (LWT) was celebrating **Coronation Street** (Granada), which was just as well as LWT is owned by Granada.

Warren said: "When I was very young we were going home and the lights were just coming up on the stalls, fat was coming on to fry at Parker's chip shop and on the telly was wrestling and outside Salford Hippodrome it said *Strip, strip hooray! We've nothing on tonight!* I loved it, I love it and it's not going to last like this. I want to preserve it like flies in amber."

The script editor used to say you could smell the burning sausages and the cheap hair spray and the tang of bitter beer in those first scripts.

Warren went on: "I was rather a sissy-ish little boy and I used to go to my grandma's or my mother's friends' houses and then I used to watch. I used to watch very carefully. I used to go under the table at my grandma's and look out from under the chenille cloth and think 'That's what men say and that's what women say'."

The company of strong women prepared him for bruising collisions with Violet Carson who played Ena and Pat Phoenix who played Elsie. Both creations are the worm's eye view of a little lad forgotten under his grandma's table.

Wired up to shock

CINEMA
Derek Malcolm

NO LONDON Film Festival within recent memory has opened with as controversial a choice as Kathryn Bigelow's Strange Days — a violent $40 million futuristic thriller that mixes an innate pessimism with a pyrotechnical display of flash cinematic technique.

That it was made by a woman would be extraordinary if it wasn't for the fact that Bigelow had already proved with Blue Steel, a tough policier, and Point Break, a successful action thriller, that genres generally considered a male preserve can be confidently handled by a female director.

Scripted and produced by James Cameron, Bigelow's ex-husband, who directed True Lies and the Terminator films, Strange Days is set in a chaotic Los Angeles, full of poverty-stricken human detritus and criminal power-brokers, on the eve of the next millennium.

Moving through this neon-lit nightmare is Lenny (Ralph Fiennes), an ex-cop who makes an illicit living selling clips of other people's lives on a digital recording.

They call this version of virtual reality "the wire" and it captures the physical and emotional purity of human experience — sight, sound, taste, smell and touch.

It has become the drug of choice and Lenny is dubbed the "Santa Claus of the sub-conscious", who knows what people want and gives it to them. What they want is generally sex. The only clips that he refuses to sell are "blackjacks" or death clips. But when a former accomplice is raped and murdered, Lenny gets a clip of the crime and is forced to relive it.

He's worried that his former girlfriend (Juliette Lewis) will be next and turns to a security agent, Mace (Angela Bassett), and another ex-cop, Max (Tom Sizemore), for help.

The problem for the film, which has so far failed to ignite American audiences, is the old one of painting a dark vision of a violent future which is exciting enough to thrill without glorifying the sex 'n' violence. And it is not one which Bigelow comfortably solves.

The vaguely upbeat ending seems tacked on, the film is too long, and — because Bigelow is so good a technician — the violence and degradation is made to seem almost glamorous.

In the end, no matter what the moral, the film gives off an odour of smart, savvy commercialism.

This is perhaps summed up best by Max's shallow cynicism — "You know how I know it's the end of the world, Lenny? Everything's already been done. Every kinda music, every government, every hairstyle. How we gonna make it for another thousand years, for Chris'sake?"

Not by inventing a new hairstyle, at any rate.

Earth, strings and fire

POP MUSIC
Caroline Sullivan

THERE is relief in sight for the Oasised-out. With no records or gigs planned for the rest of the year, the press should be Oasis-free for a while.

Last summer's Blur vs Oasis hype undoubtedly played a part in elevating the Manchester band to the parapets of fame (the current album, Morning Glory, sold more copies in its first week than any for eight years, but they have more right than many to be there. Individually, Oasis may not be very extraordinary but the whole greatly exceeds the sum of its parts.

They were decidedly superb on Saturday. They took to London's Earl's Court's big stage with the same aplomb displayed at small club gigs last year. Admittedly, they've learned something of staging and working a crowd since — formerly sulky Liam Gallagher even hopped offstage to touch some outstretched palms — but they remain as earthy as ever. The only starlike accoutrements on display were jumbo video screens that revealed that Liam has unexpectedly nice teeth.

He and guitarist sibling Noel played on their famous rivalry, trading insults along the lines of:

Liam: "We had sex last night."
Noel: "Oh, fook off."

Oasis are loved for precisely that sort of coarseness. The bond between the five members, all of whom except Liam hovered near each other, was obvious from their approving smiles. Their diamond-geezer aura matched that of the men in the crowd, any of whom, given the right baggy jeans, could have been part of the band.

Thankfully, the Oases have their feet on the ground. As Noel Gallagher snapped during a solo acoustic rendition of Wonderwall, "Would you put your lighters away? You're not at Elton John."

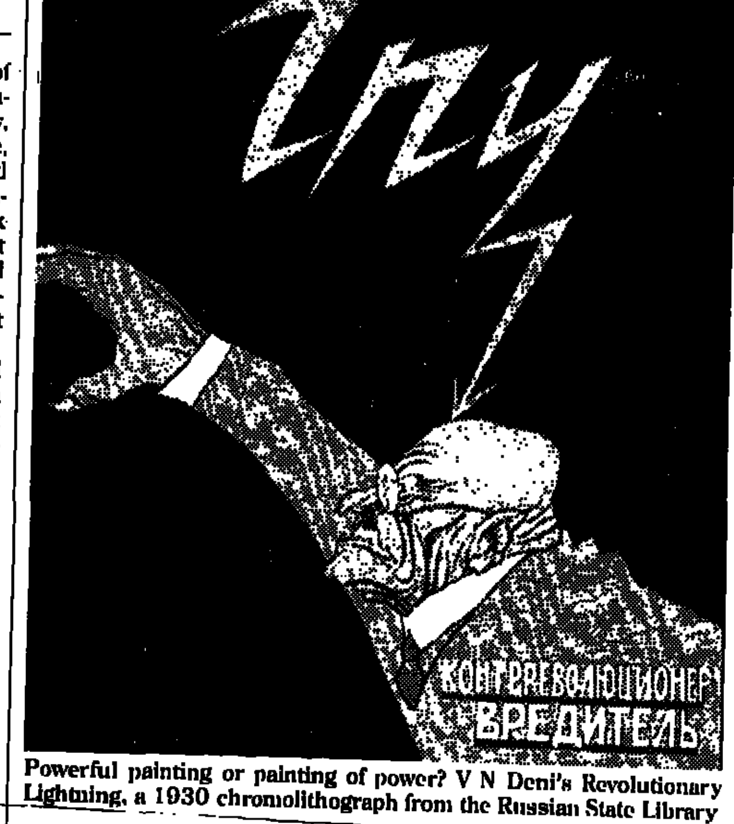
Their one exercise in big-star wish fulfilment was the appearance of a string section for Don't Look Back In Anger — somehow this precipitated a frenzy of slam-dancing — and strings *and* brass for the psychedelic-wig-out finale, I Am The Walrus.

Otherwise, the set was straightforward. Its success resulted from a pact between fans and band, whereupon both parties believed the latter were great, hence they were.

In theory, there's only a fine line between Oasis and the equally guitar-grunting Status Quo, but Our Noel and co magically stay on the right side. Call it luck, good timing, whatever. All one can say is that when Liam mumbled, "This one will blow your fookin' head off", people's fookin' heads obligingly blew off.

The mutilated corpse of modern art

ART
James Hall



Powerful painting or painting of power? V N Deni's Revolutionary Lightning, a 1930 chromolithograph from the Russian State Library

THE CRITICAL consensus of the last 30 years says that Europe's cultural supremacy, which started in the Renaissance, came to a close with the second world war. Serge Guilbaut, in an influential polemic, How New York Stole The Idea Of Modern Art (1983), suggested 1948 as the actual date for the transfer of cultural leadership from Paris to New York. But after seeing the London Hayward's mixed-media extravaganza, Art And Power: Art And Architecture In Europe 1930-1945, this end-point will have to have to be revised — backwards, by at least 20 years.

The British organisers of the show claim their purpose is to explore the "complex range of responses" of artists, both totalitarian and avant-garde, to "political pressure". Art And Power is not, however, the Nazis' Degenerate Art show revisited, with state-sponsored artists as the whipping boys. The organisers are wary of making value judgments, but their main contention is that surprising amounts of totalitarian art have redeeming, even avant-garde, features.

Yet the real lesson of this depressing spectacle is that by the thirties, the European avant-gardes had reached their sell-by dates. Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini mutilated modern art, then buried the corpse.

Art And Power opens with a recreation of the 1937 World Fair in Paris where Picasso presented Guernica while the Soviets and Nazis sized each other up and flexed their cultural muscles.

The Spanish Pavilion was an oasis of enlightenment, but it was a rapidly drying oasis. The careers of Picasso and Miró were on a downward curve. Picasso had hardly produced anything of significance since the broodily pneumatic sculptures and paintings of 1931-32.

Guernica got the acclaim, but the sculptures are the finer works. Guernica can be represented at the Hayward by contemporary photographs only, yet we can still see how wishy-washy, melodramatic and unfocused the mural looked in situ. Clement Greenberg characterised it brilliantly: "Bulging and buckling as it does, this huge painting reminds one of a battle scene from a [Greek] pediment that has been flattened under a defective steam-roller."

The Russian pavilion aspired to the condition of a skyscraping steam-roller. A blank, stone-faced mausoleum was kicked in the rear by panels piled up like futurist force-lines. The mausoleum's main function was to serve as a pedestal for a 100-foot-high steel sculpture, Vera Mukhina's The Worker And The Collective Farm Girl, shown here in a small version.

The proletarian couple rear up like the human and animal protagonists of a traditional equestrian monument. Pointedly, the whole farrago, down to the worker's outstretched right arm, is a hysterical regurgitation of Falconet's celebrated monument to Peter the Great.

Directly opposite, Albert Speer tried to outstare the pushy proles with a taciturn neo-classical skyscraper capped by an inscrutable German Eagle. At ground level, the approach was flanked by a trio of bronze beef-cakes by Josef Thorak. This is the first time that Nazi and Soviet sculpture has been seen in Britain. Nazi art tends to be more muscle-bound and less dynamic than Soviet art. The Nazis revelled in absolute nudity — Hitler's favourite painter was known as the Master of the German Pubic Hair.

The Nazis were partly inspired by their identification with the Ancient Greeks. But their figures are horribly distinct. Their boorish nudity is a result of the Nazi cult of the healthy, unashamed body. As viewers, we are expected to examine them like prospective purchasers of prize bloodstock.

The static, brain-dead quality of so much Nazi art is due to their cult of heroic death. Not only did Hitler want to honour those who had already died for Germany, he also wanted places of worship for those who were prepared to sacrifice themselves in the future. Nazi figures are immobile and vacant because they are already imagining what it is like to be a corpse.

As we trudge through this numbing and mostly soulless exhibition, past other sections devoted to Berlin, Moscow and Rome, we can't fail to mourn the repression that the avant-garde endured. But the loss is primarily a human rather than an artistic one. The banquet years of German Dada, New Objectivity and the Bauhaus were over by the time Hitler came to power.

Russian Constructivism was in decline from the early twenties. Even Mondrian, in Paris, had established his signature style by 1921 and had started to merely tinker. Some of the architecture isn't that bad, but only because functional arts are less prone to perversion: a door-handle is basically a door-handle.

MUCH is made of Mussolini's relative tolerance of the avant-garde. It is true that although neanderthal neo-classicism dominated, other more modernist styles were allowed to live in its shadow. But this can't hide the fact that the Futurists and the Scuola Metafisica were spent forces by the end of the first world war.

A new book by Romy Golan, Modernity And Nostalgia: Art And Politics In France Between The Wars (Yale, £35), goes so far as to suggest that the "momentous shift" of the avant-garde from Paris to New York began as early as 1918. She claims that after the humiliations of the war, France became a reactionary culture, obsessed with tradition and order.

By 1927, even Leger and Le Corbusier were distancing themselves from "the machine-man world" and introducing "natural and vernacular forms" into their art. The consequence of all this, Golan argues, is that the ground was prepared for the "archaicising, infantilist and racist" aspects of the Vichy regime.

Golan doesn't adequately explain the Surrealists, and she doesn't account for the prevalence of "archaicising, infantilist, and racist" art in the pre-war period. But along with Art And Power, she drives another nail into the coffin of European art between the wars.

Art and Power runs at the Hayward in London until January 21

To have and have not

THEATRE
Robin Thorber

THE NOBEL laureate and exile from the Nigerian military regime, Wole Soyinka, returned last week to Leeds, where he studied English in the fifties, for the world premiere of his latest play.

The Beatification Of Area Boy is a beautifully crafted piece of theatre that takes what it needs from western dramatic conventions and then does what it wants to do — commemorate and commiserate with the daily life of Nigerians.

On the surface it's a straight slice of life, eavesdropped and reported — one day in the vibrant and violent, cruel and colourful life of a street corner in post-oil-boom Lagos. This particular street corner sees the conjunction of a new, smart shopping plaza's electric doors with the stalls of the street traders.

Tyrone Huggins gives a finely judged, captivating performance as Sanda, the security guard who sits reading his newspaper at the doors of the mall, protecting the newly rich from the scavenging street urchins and overcrowded buses.

He is a university dropout who has returned to his home patch to co-ordinate from his peaked-cap cover a Fagin-like operation, in which boys extort protection money from the wealthy shoppers and white tourists leaving their Mercedes on the parking lots.

But the area is cleared of stalls, traders, racketeers and refugees when an old flame from his student days, Miseyi (Bola Aiyeola), chooses the plaza for her wedding to the son of the military governor.

So under the jovial, mundane surface Soyinka is stirring a tectonic collision of haves and have-nots that is symptomatic of more than developing countries. In Lagos the extremes are juxtaposed.

He does it with consummate skill, sowing seeds that bear fruit much later, drawing threads of social observation, political passion, emotional tension and tough intellectual debate into the complex rhythms of a jazz symphony. There were some lulls on the first night, but I think it's a masterpiece.

Art of the meat market

THIS year's Turner Prize will receive more scrutiny than ever and tabloid headlines along the lines of "money for old meat", *writes James Hall.*

The centrepiece of Damien Hirst's display is Mother And Child, Divided, a cow and calf bisected lengthways and presented in two tanks of formaldehyde. These big meat pieces have been loss leaders for Hirst. What brings home the bacon is his dot paintings, two of which are on view. They consist of white canvases with grids of coloured circles.

Hirst deserves to win. He has picked up the gore-spattered gauntlet from Francis Bacon. But I have a hunch it'll be Mona Hatoum's year. This Beirut-born video and installation artist makes a strong showing with Corps Etranger. You enter a circular cubicle and stand astride a circular video monitor on which an intimate self-portrait of the artist is projected. It is made with a miniature camera that was inserted into every orifice. It is an extraordinary journey to the centre of the female body.

Even the artists I don't rate so highly, Callum Innes and Mark Wallinger, look quite good here.

Innes is a Scottish abstract painter who creates, then undermines, a succession of geometrical forms. Exposed Painting, Paynes Gray was initially painted entirely blue. Innes then washed away a vertical strip of paint on the square canvas using turpentine. Pristine order now vies with streaky chaos.

Wallinger is a social commentator who can't make up his mind whether he wants to be Will Hogarth or Benny Hill. A painted self-portrait with an implanted glass eye is surrounded by works that try to anatomise the world of sport.

A moralist with star quality

J J Lee

Gladstone
by Roy Jenkins
Macmillan 698pp £20

FOUR TIMES Prime Minister, the most commanding of all Chancellors of the Exchequer, the "quintessential Victorian statesman," as Roy Jenkins calls him in this beautifully crafted biography, Gladstone towered over the public life of his age. He resigned as Prime Minister for the last time scarcely a century ago. Yet in some ways he seems a much more distant figure, an Old Testament prophet rather than an adroit party politician of more familiar vintage.

True, he was committed to accounting for his time with an obsession that might gladden the heart of a later time-and-motion man. But this was because time, for him, was a trust from God, who did indeed consume a great deal of his own time. So did the Queen, who, he said, "alone is enough to kill any man". Reading was central to his life, with Homer leading the parade of the 20,000 books he read — he must have averaged five a week — as he prowled through the classics, theology, history and fiction.

Jenkins frequently draws arresting analogies between Gladstone and later personalities, tempting one to wonder how Gladstone would have fared today. Would not his earnestness, his ponderous moralising, his scrupulosity, have condemned him to ridicule and ineffectuality? Perhaps.

But the central concern of Gladstone's rhetoric, the relationship of power and morality, remains a timeless theme in public life. It is striking how many topics of his day — Ireland, the Concert of Europe, Balkan atrocities — remain high on our agenda. His approach, rooted in the search for justice — not necessarily incompatible with party or personal advantage — has not lost its validity. To those of us who dream of enduring friendship between Ireland and England, for instance, the defeat of his Home Rule bills, however simplistic his views on the Ulster question, helped set back conciliation for more than a century.

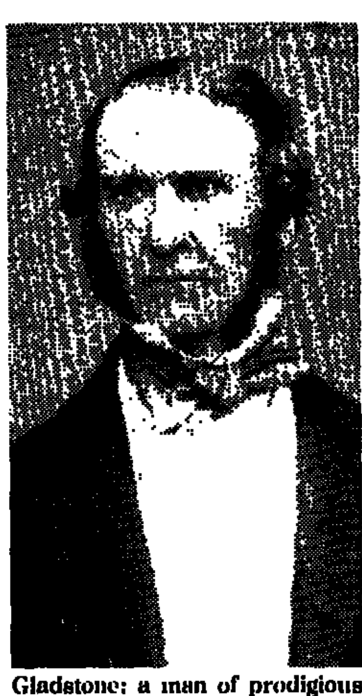
And if Gladstone's principles remained remarkably consistent throughout his long public life, his application of those principles could be highly flexible. It would be foolish to surmise that such compulsive ambition, such power of personality, such prodigious energy, such resilience in adversity, and such resourcefulness in all things, could not have responded to the challenges of contemporary public life.

His nocturnal expeditions to redeem prostitutes, which Jenkins handles sensibly, would have been grist to the media of today. But however innocent Gladstone may have been in some respects, he was no innocent in massaging the media. His political antennae would presumably have alerted him to seek less politically suicidal sources of emotional solace in changed circumstances. And this celebrated conversationalist would doubtless have found alternative topics to Innocent the Third, the true theory of the Church, Dante, and to adapt to the conversational repertoire of more limited colleagues.

Politicians across the ages share a common addiction to power, whatever the modalities of acquisition and retention. Gladstone was as highly charged in this as in other respects. What he had above all, which would make him potentially formidable in any age, was, as Jenkins rightly points out, "inherent star quality".

Jenkins's own Gladstone has star quality, too. This is not because it is definitive. There can be no definitive biography of so complex and gargantuan a personality, despite the voluminous source material available. A hostile biographer would have ample material to paint Gladstone's personality in darker hues. In this account, on the contrary, nearly everybody's stature tends to suffer in Gladstone's shadow. Not only does Jenkins draw his enemies, Disraeli and Salisbury, too severely, but even a friend like Acton does not escape reproof for failing to observe his famous aphorism about the corruption of power.

Despite these quibbles this is a distinguished study. "Half eagle, half lion," G M Young called Gladstone in a notable lecture. If the talons and the claws are not often bared here, the very qualities which may have helped deprive Jenkins himself of the premiership — a sense of proportion, a sanity of judgment, a mildly sardonic detachment at times not only from his subject, but even from himself — instil confidence in him as a biographer. Deliciously spiced with a mordant wit, his Gladstone can be read for sheer pleasure. But it is the wisdom as well as the wit that makes this biography live, as Jenkins distils his compelling insights into human, and Westminster, nature in this absorbing portrait of one of the two most remarkable personalities ever to have occupied No 10.



Gladstone: a man of prodigious energy and compulsive ambition

Cartwheels of prose

Alex Clark

The Age of Miracles
by Ellen Gilchrist
Bloomsbury 260pp £13.99

IT WOULD be hard to praise too highly this wonderful collection of short stories by the American writer Ellen Gilchrist. In 16 linked pieces, she charts the emotional and artistic development of a woman writer, Rhoda Manning, whom we first met as a child character in a previous book, Light Can Be Both Wave And Particle. But alongside Rhoda's struggle to find her own voice and forge a literary identity, are dozens of other characters, situations and stories, all of them perfect encapsulations of a particular psychological moment. Throughout, Gilchrist's prose turns cartwheels promising to turn into poetry, with each phrase balanced against another, the dramatic intensity and emotional excess qualified and controlled by a fine, tight irony.

Most of the book is set in the southern states of America, with excursions to Paris and New York. In the south it revolves around the small town of Fayetteville, Arkansas, where the author lives, and New Orleans, represented as a wellspring of culture and creativity, but also as a dangerous, decadent place, where sexual liberation can be mistaken for freedom. In a story that Gilchrist calls "a fable", a group of poets gather in a bar downtown in "the year the poets got all the pussy and the preachers got none," whilst their hero shoots himself offstage.

When we meet her she is in her fifties, an established writer living in semi-seclusion in the mountains. Her fans fall in love with her, her parents, children and grandchildren adore her. She speaks to us in a throaty voice, warm, sexy, funny and self-knowing and tells us about the joys of getting older and leaving love affairs behind.

When she tells us that she has been "selfish, spoiled, hot-tempered", it seems a ritual self-deprecation. But at this point, Gilchrist takes the brakes off and launches into Rhoda's past, where her seven-year-old son finds her unconscious after a party wearing only a pantyhose; where she grows pin-thin on Dexedrine and screws men "without mercy", and one day she walks out on her husband and sons to enrol on a creative writing course.

The narrative runs back and forth in time, and constantly switches from first to third person. At times Rhoda is the focus, at other times she has a walk-on part. But she remains present throughout. It is her experience that is constantly refracted through the humorous digressions and literary allusions, that is echoed in the characters who face up to fate and their complicated emotions. As the book progresses, two distinct voices blur into one, as if Rhoda is re-making her life through language: *"Tenderness, pity, love, these are words we invented to forgive ourselves."* In an impeccably written, moving book, Gilchrist creates a paean to the joys of maturity which preserves the energy and recklessness of youth.

Time and crime again

Julian Evans

Sleepers
by Lorenzo Carcaterra
Century 325pp £15.99

SLEEPERS, the purportedly true story of four New York children sent to a boys' reformatory, a testimony of awful torture and buggery and eventual revenge, made me think over and over again of one of those cocky early stories by Scott Fitzgerald: "Now if this were a moving picture (as, of course, I hope it will some day be) . . ." The thought intruded against the grain of Lorenzo Carcaterra's material — against the seriousness of his subject, against the beatings and rapes inflicted on children, against the theft of spirit, theft of childhood, innocence, self. How could a story of such scars be stripped down to such crass speculation?

"Michael, Tommy, John and Lorenzo himself, youngest of the gang, grew up in Hell's Kitchen in the pre-summer-of-love sixties. Products of ethnic mixage, poverty and broken parents, their misdeeds went no worse than a little light fingering of the comic store. Real fear was the day when John and Lorenzo accidentally burst in on a young nun in an unlocked toilet.

"Did you see her snatch?" Michael asked.

"A nun's snatch!" John said. "We're gonna burn like twigs for this!"

(Is this likely talk?) Nemesis was more earthbound. Lorenzo stole a hamburger one day. While the owner of the stand chased him, Michael, Tommy and John decided to hide his cart. Unhappy outcome: the cart, steep subway steps, and an old man at the bottom crushed: childhood had run out of control. Each boy was sentenced to a year in the Wilkinson Home for Boys. All four found themselves at the sexual mercy of their guards, raped, sodomised with batons, humiliated while the authorities turned a blind eye.

If the first two sections of Sleepers are written to formula, syrupy prose doesn't quite amount to dishonesty. But perhaps irritation sharpens one's suspicions against the book's third section. Fast-forward 11 years, to 1979. Tommy and John, scarred beyond recovery, were mobsters; Michael, the oldest and most self-contained, was working in the District Attorney's office. The two gunmen stumbled on one of their former tormentors in a Hell's Kitchen bar, and shot him dead in front of witnesses. The last third is the courtroom drama of how Mr Carcaterra (now a journalist) and Michael (who had asked to handle the case) succeeded in having their friends acquitted and revealing the truth about the Wilkinson Home for Boys.

That part at least is plausible in recent America. As for the rest, it isn't, as Jimmy Breslin put it when Sleepers was published in New York, that the facts just don't add up (why are names and locations changed?). What the author had at his disposal was the perfect cloth for a memoir of unimaginable injustice. But to make the memoir fit (what it had to fit was a $2 million deal with Sony) the author had to switch from jerky homespun to the most richly embroidered tat. Suddenly the author has a wisecracking girl to sit through the trial, with, the convenient frame-ups of two former guards, the docile judge, the over-obliging witnesses, the TV courtroom dialogue. Suddenly it all fits. And I don't believe a word of it. Not that it matters. As Fitzgerald, Hollywood's judge and concubine, knew from both sides money is big in pictures.

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

Conflict of Loyalty, by Geoffrey Howe (Pan, £8.99)

IT IS ALMOST impossible fo successful politician to wri good memoir: the skills involved the one area are antithetical to prose. That said, Howe's mem are exciting, and only produ mild, sufferable feeling of nau The best bit is his resignat speech. We all owe him a drink getting rid of That Woman.

The Real Life of Sebastian Knight, by Vladimir Nabokov (Penguin, £6.99)

A GREAT excuse to read one of the most subtle, delicately found novels in the language: Nabokov's first in English — a novelist who abandons his Russian to write in English. The beauty of it is that this is far than just a game with mirrors: you'll learn from John Lanchester's excellent afterword.

Bottle, Draught and Keg: an Irish Drinking Anthology, ed Laurence Flanagan, £10.99

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EVEN partial summary is less in the case of a book bounteous intelligence is manifest every sentence. A psychoanalyst trade, but one who brings the of close reading to bear upon ing of our lives, as of our words could usefully ditch every bogus help book ever written and replace with this compendium of questions, cautious answers.

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Mystic puritan, spectacular adulterer

J K L Walker

Muggeridge: The Biography
by Richard Ingrams
HarperCollins 266pp £18

BEATRICE WEBB, not long after Malcolm Muggeridge's marriage to her niece Kitty, recorded in her diary her impressions of her new nephew: "He is the most intellectually stimulating and pleasant-mannered of all my 'in-laws'. An ugly but attractive and expressive face, a clever and sympathetic talker . . . yet I think Malcolm is a mystic and even a puritan in his awareness of loyalties and human relationships. What is attractive about him is the total absence of intellectual arrogance; partly because he has a keen sense of humour and an understanding of his own ignorance, also a knowledge of the world, a sense of proportion."

As an assessment, this could have well appeared, little changed, in Muggeridge's obituary nearly 60 years later. By then, of course, the mystic and the puritan had come to the fore, to leave in the popular memory a faintly ludicrous figure: St Mugg, on his knees, with attendant cameramen, being received into the Roman Catholic Church. To his worldly friends, this seemed a sad falling-off for one of the sharpest and most irreverent minds of his generation.

Richard Ingrams came to know Muggeridge well in his later years, at a time when he was a hero to the young sixties satirists. His biography is the tribute of a friend, but he also sees Muggeridge as someone who, in many ways, personified his era. Brought up in a south London suburb and educated at the local secondary school, Muggeridge accompanied his father, a local councillor and later, briefly, a Labour MP, to street-corner meetings.

Later, after he left Cambridge, where he acquired a pass degree in science, and a spell of teaching in India, the rather earnest Fabianism gave way to something more exciting: "Malcolm", announced his mother-in-law, the eccentric Rosie Dobbs, ". . . calls himself a communist and recognises no class distinction." An anti-imperialist article submitted to the Manchester Guardian when Muggeridge was on a teaching assignment in Egypt, led to the offer of a job as a leader-writer on the paper. Fuelled by leftwing idealism, Muggeridge, at the age of 27, was at last launched on his career as a journalist.

Malcolm Muggeridge, Auberon Waugh and Richard Ingrams at Private Eye's 21st birthday lunch

Yet, as Ingrams amply demonstrates, throughout his life Muggeridge was easily bored, always "making off", as he called it, when jobs or relationships failed to live up to expectation. The Guardian and its new editor, W F Crozier, soon qualified, and Muggeridge and Kitty made off to Moscow with the intention of settling there.

The brutalities of Stalinism soon opened Muggeridge's eyes, and within less than a year he was back, but not before he had filed highly critical reports of the regime which, although cut by Crozier, raised a furore in leftwing circles. "Malcolm would do well in the Roman Catholic Church," noted Beatrice, gloomily.

There was still more to forgive during the 1930s, a time when Muggeridge hopped from job to job — as assistant editor on the Calcutta Statesman, then on the Londoner's Diary feature of the Evening Standard before retreating to Sussex to write. An unsympathetic biography of Samuel Butler upset E M Forster and an autobiographical novel, In A Valley Of The Restless Mind, which included caricatures of the Webbs, had Beatrice wondering whether Malcolm, when he was young, might not have benefited from psychoanalysis.

War service in Intelligence (for a time, under Kim Philby) was followed by a seven-year stint on the Daily Telegraph, latterly as deputy editor. This brought Muggeridge, now nearing 50, to the peak of his journalistic career, the editorship of Punch. With his friend Anthony Powell as literary editor, he transformed a sleepy national institution, much used by dentists as a tranquilliser, into a modern, satirical magazine.

New contributors such as Stephen Spender, Kenneth Tynan, John Betjeman, Julian Maclaren Ross and Claud Cockburn, brought flair and good writing, and Punch was read and talked about as it had not been for years.

MUGGERIDGE'S tenure at Punch remains one of the brightest episodes of post-war journalism and a better memorial to his talents than the years of television celebrity that became his life after Punch was closed.

Richard Ingrams is good on these later years, showing how Muggeridge was slowly devoured by television until, by the end, he could no longer turn his hand to sustained writing. He gives, too, a sympathetic account of the drift into the arms of the Church, accelerated by Muggeridge's friendship with Mother Teresa. Despair at the collapse of civilisation never kept Muggeridge from making the most of it, and he accumulated a lifetime's material for the confessional. He was a spectacular adulterer who never hesitated to lay hands on the wife of a colleague (and, on one occasion in a London restaurant, on wife and daughter at the same time); at the height of his BBC fame he was known among the staff as "the Pouncer". A long-running affair with Lady Pamela Berry, during which they both once put in an appearance at the Labour party conference with straw and leaves still clinging to their clothes, ended only when the long-suffering Kitty told him to choose between them. As always, he chose her — she was the only person who kept him from becoming cheap, he said — and the two youthful apostles of free love (she, too, had her flings) settled down into abstemious old age.

Muggeridge was a man of his time, part of the Zeitgeist — an upwardly mobile, leftwing intellectual at bottom, racked by doubt, for whom the God of communism failed early and who fell back on his wits and charm to see him through. A friend of writers whose own writing ran into the sand, an intimate of politicians who despised politics, a London socialite always making off for the country, Muggeridge was the creature of his own boredom and restlessness, to whom television and the Church offered a sort of refuge. Richard Ingrams's acute and entertaining biography shows us a life which, at the very least, never lacked these qualities.

Playing the upper hand

Ian Sansom

Old Scores
by Frederic Raphael
Orion £15.99 214pp

AFTER 18 elegant and easy-to-read novels and a remarkable range of screenplays, biographies, translations, essays and short stories, Frederic Raphael's achievements are many, yet their intellectual status and artistic worth remains uncertain. Ferociously intelligent, his writing is yet as tame and as smooth as a tiger-skin rug. Fascinated by the petty torments of ex-pat English upper class life, he is none the less, as he admits, "obsessed with what is now called 'the Holocaust'". He is a consummate middle-brow storyteller with a determinedly high-minded purpose and tone.

Old Scores is set in London and the Dordogne in the 1980s. It follows the fortunes of Rachel Stannard, a young woman who drifts from university to journalism and into a loveless marriage, until she finds adventure and excitement with Lionel Cator, an elderly English former special agent and hero of the French Resistance.

The plot is complex and episodic, starting off slack, until about halfway when it becomes breathtakingly fast-paced. There is a continuous parade of grotesques with deliciously Dickensian names (including the distinctly unsavoury Roland Savory and Rachel's husband, the appropriately dodgy-dealing Roger Raikes), all of whom are engaged, in re-inventing their sad lives. The settling of the old scores of the title involves not just punishing the crimes of Nazi collaborators, but also resolving relationships between families, friends and colleagues.

Yet what is most interesting about the novel is the dialogue. Raphael has always had a feel for that peculiarly foamy upper-class *argot* which combines irony with innocence.

The loquacious Cator is one of his most magnificent creations, his tormented stream-of-consciousness channelled by a strict, military logic: "Any questions? Um, upper hand, sir; how best to establish? Simple, Simon: tell 'em, do as you say . . . Heel, boy! Clear? As mud, sir. Excellent." Parts of the book read like Jeffrey Archer rewritten by Beckett; a reminder that Raphael is really a most serious writer.

Shimmering lives in a desert town

Laura Cumming

Don't Call It Night
by Amos Oz trans Nicholas de Lange
Chatto 200pp £14.99

AMOS OZ is a writer of such revelatory genius that he can express the complexity of Israel's history in the humblest of household effects. Ravid, the ex-Mossad agent in the 1989 novel To Know A Woman, obsessively decodes every creak and power surge in his empty home but never acquires more popular intelligence because his paperboy fails to deliver. Fima, Oz's eponymous philosopher-clown, won't part with the ancient newspapers constituting his flat lest they might yet fuel political debate. He can't even crush an outcast cockroach for the parallels with anti-Semitism. In this new novel, Theo seems to embody the very character of the nation: he is a planner, working in a theoretical state. But this is the nineties and the blueprint must change. Theo now plays his chess games with the fridge, regimenting the yoghurts, re-aligning the eggs. Semi-retirement has finally brought him home.

Not that anyone is ever quite at home in Oz's books. This is partly metaphorical — Theo lives among immigrants from 30 different countries in a new desert town that "stopped like a ship whose bows were stuck in the sand on the shore". But it's also because living with other people is so surprisingly unsettling. Theo's lover, the ebullient Noa, comes home at night "setting up a row of electric lights in her path as though to illuminate the runway of her landing. The whole apartment screwed up its eyes, dazzled."

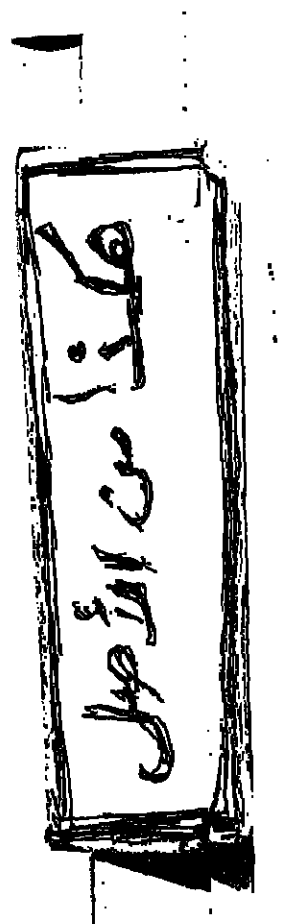
Should he intervene in Noa's project for a drug rehabilitation clinic, should he give the opinions demanded as she tries on each dress in the shop? Noa thinks he's as arrogant as Tolstoy, "deigning to light the stove in the hovel of one of his serfs". But she also needs to be child, parent and lover to him. As he to her.

The repertory of exchanging roles is brilliantly mirrored in the narrative voices. Trying to define Theo to herself, Noa's interior monologues assume both his meticulous precision and his solemn maturity. Theo in turn acquires her vivacity and humour. Oz's calm, elegant prose floats like a breeze around the town of Tel Kedar, catching the Council of Torah Sages in beery gossip, drifting along the cinema queue at the Paris, pausing at the Entebbe bar to share Avram's hopes for his new *shawarma* machine. So indelible is the image of this man, hovering prayerfully in the evening light, that when customers finally come, you too will sigh with relief.

Even the town has a character. Its architecture is forgetful, the war monument shedding letters daily, the memorial fountain now a feeble drizzle. Modern solar panels gleam across the roof-tops, trying to appease the sun's blaze in its own language. But history is at the end of every street, where the desert whistles up its spirals of ancient sand.

In the end, the clinic is incidental: Theo and Noa do not founder because their plans collapse; they thrive because their human understanding increases. This is Oz's great, wide achievement in Don't Call It Night. He has a gift for conveying our lives as intimate strangers. Even when he lights on transient characters, he illuminates the whole being. Blind Lupo, who accidentally kicks his dog and hastily apologises; Nehomia Dubnow, ejected from the water board, with his postcard collection of seas "like beaten gold"; even the corpse of Elijah, nicknamed because he always asked when Elijah would come, leaves his question in the air.

The novel finishes with a cast-list by order of appearance that includes the nameless and the dead. This is perfect. For even the anonymous have become unforgettable by the end of Oz's masterpiece.



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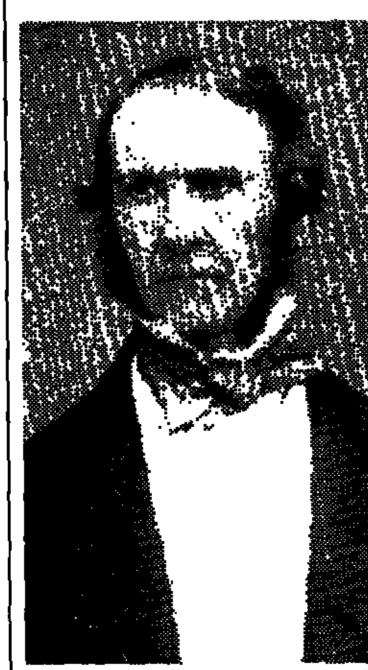
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Nicholas Lezard

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Bottle, Draught and Keg: an Irish Drinking Anthology, ed Laurence Flanagan, £10.99)

THE IRISH aren't any more boozy than the English but they write better on it. This anthology is only 250 pages long which bespeaks a reticence, or a discretion, if you like. Chapters on Drink and Fighting, Deaths and Wakes, Inept or Excessive Drinking, Poitin, or poteen to you (although a pint of plain is your only man): the usual suspects, naturally, especially well-chosen with regard to more contemporary writers.

The Russian Question at the End of the 20th Century, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (Harvill, £7.99)

IF FOR little else, we should, from time to time, thank Bog that we are not living in Russia. After reading this — a potted history of Russia from the 17th century on — one perceives Russian history as so many successive blows to the soul, and Solzhenitsyn's despair ("If we persist in this way, who knows if in another century the time may come to strike the word 'Russian' from the dictionary?") is authentically anguished.

On Flirtation, by Adam Phillips (Faber, £7.99)

EVEN partial summary is hopeless in the case of a book whose bounteous intelligence is manifest in every sentence. A psychoanalyst by trade, but one who brings the skills of close reading to bear upon the reading of our lives, as of our words. You could usefully ditch every bogus self-help book ever written and replace it with this compendium of probing questions, cautious answers.

Cartwheels of prose

Alex Clark

The Age of Miracles
by Ellen Gilchrist
Bloomsbury 260pp £13.99

IT WOULD be hard to praise too highly this wonderful collection of short stories by the American writer Ellen Gilchrist. In 16 linked pieces, she charts the emotional and artistic development of a woman writer, Rhoda Manning, whom we first met as a child character in a previous book, Light Can Be Both Wave And Particle. But alongside Rhoda's struggle to find her own voice and forge a literary identity, are dozens of other characters, situations and stories, all of them perfect encapsulations of a particular psychological moment. Throughout, Gilchrist's prose turns cartwheels promising to turn into poetry, with each phrase balanced against another, the dramatic intensity and emotional excess qualified and controlled by a fine, tight irony.

Most of the book is set in the southern states of America, with excursions to Paris and New York. In the south it revolves around the small town of Fayetteville, Arkansas, where the author lives, and New Orleans, represented as a wellspring of culture and creativity, but also as a dangerous, decadent place, where sexual liberation can be mistaken for freedom. In a story that Gilchrist calls "a fable", a group of poets gather in a bar downtown in "the year the poets got all the pussy and the preachers got none," whilst their hero shoots himself offstage.

When we meet her she is in her fifties, an established writer living in semi-seclusion in the mountains. Her fans fall in love with her, her parents, children and grandchildren adore her. She speaks to us in a throaty voice, warm, sexy, funny and self-knowing and tells us about the joys of getting older and leaving love affairs behind.

When she tells us that she has been "selfish, spoiled, hot-tempered", it seems a ritual self-deprecation. But at this point, Gilchrist takes the brakes off and launches into Rhoda's past, where her seven-year-old son finds her unconscious after a party wearing only a pantyhose; where she grows pin-thin on Dexedrine and screws men "without mercy", and one day she walks out on her husband and sons to enrol on a creative writing course.

The narrative runs back and forth in time, and constantly switches from first to third person. At times Rhoda is the focus, at other times she has a walk-on part. But she remains present throughout. It is her experience that is constantly refracted through the humorous digressions and literary allusions, that is echoed in the characters who face up to fate and their complicated emotions. As the book progresses, two distinct voices blur into one, as if Rhoda is re-making her life through language: *"Tenderness, pity, love*, these are words we invented to forgive ourselves." In an impeccably written, moving book, Gilchrist creates a paean to the joys of maturity which preserves the energy and recklessness of youth.

Time and crime again

Julian Evans

Sleepers
by Lorenzo Carcaterra
Century 325pp £15.99

SLEEPERS, the purportedly true story of four New York children sent to a boys' reformatory, a testimony of awful torture and buggery and eventual revenge, made me think over and over again of one of those cocky early stories by Scott Fitzgerald: "Now if this were a moving picture (as, of course, I hope it will some day be) . . ." The thought intruded against the grain of Lorenzo Carcaterra's material — against the seriousness of his subject, against the beatings and rapes inflicted on children, against the theft of spirit, theft of childhood, innocence, self. How could a story of such scars be stripped down to such crass speculation?

"Michael, Tommy, John and Lorenzo himself, youngest of the gang, grew up in Hell's Kitchen in the pre-summer-of-love sixties. Products of ethnic mixage, poverty and broken parents, their misdeeds went no worse than a little light fingering of the comic store. Real fear was the day when John and Lorenzo accidentally burst in on a young nun in an unlocked toilet.

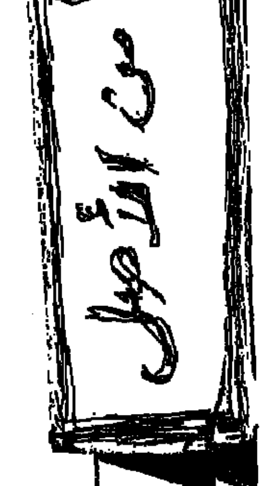
"Did you see her snatch?" Michael asked.

"A nun's snatch!" John said. "We're gonna burn like twigs for this!"

(Is this likely talk?) Nemesis was more earthbound. Lorenzo stole a hamburger one day. While the owner of the stand chased him, Michael, Tommy and John decided to hide his cart. Unhappy outcome: the cart, steep subway steps, and an old man at the bottom crushed: childhood had run out of control. Each boy was sentenced to a year in the Wilkinson Home for Boys. All four found themselves at the sexual mercy of their guards, raped, sodomised with batons, humiliated while the authorities turned a blind eye.

If the first two sections of Sleepers are written to formula, syrupy prose doesn't quite amount to dishonesty. But perhaps irritation sharpens one's suspicions against the book's third section. Fast-forward 11 years, to 1979. Tommy and John, scarred beyond recovery, were mobsters; Michael, the oldest and most self-contained, was working in the District Attorney's office. The two gunmen stumbled on one of their former tormentors in a Hell's Kitchen bar, and shot him dead in front of witnesses. The last third is the courtroom drama of how Mr Carcaterra (now a journalist) and Michael (who had asked to handle the case) succeeded in having their friends acquitted and revealing the truth about the Wilkinson Home for Boys.

That part at least is plausible in recent America. As for the rest, it isn't, as Jimmy Breslin put it when Sleepers was published in New York, that the facts just don't add up (why are names and locations changed?). What the author had at his disposal was the perfect cloth for a memoir of unimaginable injustice. But to make the memoir fit (what it had to fit was a $2 million deal with Sony) the author had to switch from jerky homespun to the most richly embroidered tat. Suddenly the author has a wisecracking girl to sit through the trial with, the convenient frame-ups of two former guards, the docile judge, the over-obliging witnesses, the TV courtroom dialogue. Suddenly it all fits. And I don't believe a word of it. Not that it matters. As Fitzgerald, Hollywood's judge and concubine, knew from both sides money is big in pictures.



Mystic puritan, spectacular adulterer

J K L Walker

Muggeridge: The Biography
by Richard Ingrams
HarperCollins 266pp £18

BEATRICE WEBB, not long after Malcolm Muggeridge's marriage to her niece Kitty, recorded in her diary her impressions of her new nephew: "He is the most intellectually stimulating and pleasant-mannered of all my 'in-laws'. An ugly but attractive and expressive face, a clever and sympathetic talker . . . yet I think Malcolm is a mystic and even a puritan in his awareness of loyalties and human relationships. What is attractive about him is the total absence of intellectual arrogance; partly because he has a keen sense of humour and an understanding of his own ignorance, also a knowledge of the world, a sense of proportion."

As an assessment, this could have well appeared, little changed, in Muggeridge's obituary nearly 60 years later. By then, of course, the mystic and the puritan had come to the fore, to leave in the popular memory a faintly ludicrous figure: St Mugg, on his knees, with attendant cameramen, being received into the Roman Catholic Church. To his worldly friends, this seemed a sad falling-off for one of the sharpest and most irreverent minds of his generation.

Richard Ingrams came to know Muggeridge well in his later years, at a time when he was a hero to the young sixties satirists. His biography is the tribute of a friend, but he also sees Muggeridge as someone who, in many ways, personified his era. Brought up in a south London suburb and educated at the local secondary school, Muggeridge accompanied his father, a local councillor and later, briefly, a Labour MP, to street-corner meetings.

Later, after he left Cambridge, where he acquired a pass degree in science, and a spell of teaching in India, the rather earnest Fabianism gave way to something more exciting: "Malcolm", announced his mother-in-law, the eccentric Rosie Dobbs, ". . . calls himself a communist and recognises no class distinction." An anti-imperialist article submitted to the Manchester Guardian when Muggeridge was on a teaching assignment in Egypt, led to the offer of a job as a leader-writer on the paper. Fuelled by leftwing idealism, Muggeridge, at the age of 27, was at last

Malcolm Muggeridge, Auberon Waugh and Richard Ingrams at Private Eye's 21st birthday lunch

launched on his career as a journalist.

Yet, as Ingrams amply demonstrates, throughout his life Muggeridge was easily bored, always "making off", as he called it, when jobs or relationships failed to live up to expectation. The Guardian and its new editor, W F Crozier, soon qualified, and Muggeridge and Kitty made off to Moscow with the intention of settling there.

The brutalities of Stalinism soon opened Muggeridge's eyes, and within less than a year he was back, but not before he had filed highly critical reports of the regime which, although cut by Crozier, raised a furore in leftwing circles. "Malcolm would do well in the Roman Catholic Church," noted Beatrice, gloomily.

There was still more to forgive during the 1930s, a time when Muggeridge hopped from job to job — as assistant editor on the Calcutta Statesman, then on the Londoner's Diary feature of the Evening Standard before retreating to Sussex to write. An unsympathetic biography of Samuel Butler upset E M Forster and an autobiographical novel, In A Valley Of The Restless Mind, which included caricatures of the Webbs, had Beatrice wondering whether Malcolm, when he was young, might not have benefited from psychoanalysis.

War service in Intelligence (for a time, under Kim Philby) was followed by a seven-year stint on the Daily Telegraph, latterly as deputy editor. This brought Muggeridge, now nearing 50, to the peak of his journalistic career, the editorship of Punch. With his friend Anthony Powell as literary editor, he transformed a sleepy national institution, much used by dentists as a tranquilliser, into a modern, satirical magazine.

New contributors such as Stephen Spender, Kenneth Tynan, John Betjeman, Julian Maclaren Ross and Claud Cockburn, brought flair and good writing, and Punch was read and talked about as it had not been for years.

MUGGERIDGE'S tenure at Punch remains one of the brightest episodes of post-war journalism and a better memorial to his talents than the years of television celebrity that became his life after Punch was closed.

Richard Ingrams is good on these later years, showing how Muggeridge was slowly devoured by television until, by the end, he could no longer turn his hand to sustained writing. He gives, too, a sympathetic account of the drift into the arms of the Church, accelerated by Muggeridge's friendship with Mother Teresa. Despair at the collapse of civilisation never kept Muggeridge from making the most of it, and he accumulated a lifetime's material for the confessional. He was a spectacular adulterer who never hesitated to lay hands on the wife of a colleague (and, on one occasion in a London restaurant, on wife and daughter at the same time); at the height of his BBC fame he was known among the staff as "the Pouncer". A long-running affair with Lady Pamela Berry, during which they both once put in an appearance at the Labour party conference with straw and leaves still clinging to their clothes, ended only when the long-suffering Kitty told him to choose between them. As always, he chose her — she was the only person who kept him from becoming cheap, he said — and the two youthful apostles of free love (she, too, had her flings) settled down into abstemious old age.

Muggeridge was a man of his time, part of the Zeitgeist — an upwardly mobile, leftwing intellectual at bottom, racked by doubt, for whom the God of communism failed early and who fell back on his wits and charm to see him through. A friend of writers whose own writing ran into the sand, an intimate of politicians who despised politics, a London socialite always making off for the country, Muggeridge was the creature of his own boredom and restlessness, to whom television and the Church offered a sort of refuge. Richard Ingrams's acute and entertaining biography shows us a life which, at the very least, never lacked these qualities.

Playing the upper hand

Ian Sansom

Old Scores
by Frederic Raphael
Orion £15.99 214pp

AFTER 18 elegant and easy-to-read novels and a remarkable range of screenplays, biographies, translations, essays and short stories, Frederic Raphael's achievements are many, yet their intellectual status and artistic worth remains uncertain. Ferociously intelligent, his writing is yet as tame and as smooth as a tiger-skin rug. Fascinated by the petty torments of ex-pat English upper class life, he is none the less, as he admits, "obsessed with what is now called 'the Holocaust'". He is a consummate middle-brow storyteller with a determinedly high-minded purpose and tone.

Old Scores is set in London and the Dordogne in the 1980s. It follows the fortunes of Rachel Stannard, a young woman who drifts from university to journalism and into a loveless marriage, until she finds adventure and excitement with Lionel Cator, an elderly English former special agent and hero of the French Resistance.

The plot is complex and episodic, starting off slack, until about halfway when it becomes breathtakingly fast-paced. There is a continuous parade of grotesques with deliciously Dickensian names (including the distinctly unsavoury Roland Savory and Rachel's husband, the appropriately dodgy-dealing Roger Raikes), all of whom are engaged, in re-inventing their sad lives. The settling of the old scores of the title involves not just punishing the crimes of Nazi collaborators, but also resolving relationships between families, friends and colleagues.

Yet what is most interesting about the novel is the dialogue. Raphael has always had a feel for that peculiarly foamy upper-class *argot* which combines irony with innocence.

The loquacious Cator is one of his most magnificent creations, his tormented stream-of-consciousness channelled by a strict, military logic: "Any questions? Um, upper hand, sir; how best to establish? Simple, Simon: tell 'em, do as you say . . . Heel, boy! Clear? As mud, sir. Excellent." Parts of the book read like Jeffrey Archer rewritten by Beckett; a reminder that Raphael is really a most serious writer.

Shimmering lives in a desert town

Laura Cumming

Don't Call It Night
by Amos Oz trans Nicholas de Lange
Chatto 200pp £14.99

AMOS OZ is a writer of such revelatory genius that he can express the complexity of Israel's history in the humblest of household effects. Ravid, the ex-Mossad agent in the 1989 novel To Know A Woman, obsessively decodes every creak and power surge in his empty home but never acquires more popular intelligence because his paperboy fails to deliver. Fima, Oz's eponymous philosopher-clown, won't part with the ancient newspapers congesting his flat lest they might yet fuel political debate. He can't even crush an outcast cockroach for the parallels with anti-Semitism. In this new novel, Theo seems to embody the very character of the nation: he is a planner, working in a theoretical state. But this is the nineties and the blueprint must change. Theo now plays his chess games with the fridge, regimenting the yoghurts, realigning the eggs. Semi-retirement has finally brought him home.

Not that anyone is ever quite at home in Oz's books. This is partly metaphorical — Theo lives among immigrants from 30 different countries in a new desert town that "stopped like a ship whose bows were stuck in the sand on the shore". But it's also because living with other people is so surprisingly unsettling. Theo's lover, the ebullient Noa, comes home at night "setting up a row of electric lights in her path as though to illuminate the runway of her landing. The whole apartment screwed up its eyes, dazzled."

Should he intervene in Noa's project for a drug rehabilitation clinic, should he give the opinions demanded as she tries on each dress in the shop? Noa thinks he's as arrogant as Tolstoy, "deigning to light the stove in the hovel of one of his serfs". But she also needs to be child, parent and lover to him. As he to her.

The repertory of exchanging roles is brilliantly mirrored in the narrative voices. Trying to define Theo to herself, Noa's interior monologues assume both his meticulous precision and his solemn maturity. Theo in turn acquires her vivacity and humour. Oz's calm, elegant prose floats like a breeze around the town of Tel Kedar, catching the Council of Torah Sages in beery gossip, drifting along the cinema queue at the Paris, pausing at the Entebbe bar to share Avram's hopes for his new *shawarma* machine. So indelible is the image of this man, hovering prayerfully in the evening light, that when customers finally come, you too will sigh with relief.

Even the town has a character. Its architecture is forgetful, the war monument shedding letters daily, the memorial fountain now a feeble drizzle. Modern solar panels gleam across the roof-tops, trying to appease the sun's blaze in its own language. But history is at the end of every street, where the desert whistles up its spirals of ancient sand.

In the end, the clinic is incidental. Theo and Noa do not founder because their plans collapse; they thrive because their human understanding increases. This is Oz's great, wide achievement in Don't Call It Night. He has a gift for conveying our lives as intimate strangers. Even when he lights on transient characters, he illuminates the whole being. Blind Lupo, who accidentally kicks his dog and hastily apologises; Nehomia Dubnow, ejected from the water board, with his postcard collection of seas "like beaten gold"; even the corpse of Elijah, nicknamed because he always asked when Elijah would come, leaves his question in the air.

The novel finishes with a cast-list by order of appearance that includes the nameless and the dead. This is perfect. For even the anonymous have become unforgettable by the end of Oz's masterpiece.


ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

Salford's urban oasis

Paul Evans

McDONALD'S in Pendleton, Manchester, is an oasis packed with lunchtime students and business people. Inside this controlled environment, tropical plants nestle between the seats. Outside, the car park is enclosed by tidy shrubs and trees turning a designer autumn bronze: a corporate habitat in the urban desert.

Just across the road are rows and rows of boarded-up flats with notices saying "Anything of value has been removed". And they mean it. People, nature, jobs, community, gardens, wildlife: anything of value has been removed. Beyond this ghost town, the huge tower blocks of Salford reach for the sky.

In the meeting room of the romantically named Apple Tree Court, a block containing 180 flats, there's a picture of Shirley Bassey, a welcome cuppa and real enthusiasm. The tenants association formed its own company so that the high-rise community could get to grips with its environment. There is now a tall fence around the block and an electric gate — a reluctant but necessary state of siege in which to tackle the landscape and build a garden because anything of value would otherwise disappear. The garden, in its second year, is not just a cosmetic exercise to tart up the dismal landscape common to many urban regeneration schemes. Unlike the corporate mirage of McDonald's, this is a real oasis.

A tower block in inner-city, post-industrial, north-west England may seem like a strange place to be talking about an oasis. Stranger still when the inspiration for this garden comes from the Arabian deserts.

Shibam, a medieval city of ancient, mud-block "skyscrapers", lies in the Wadi Hadraumaut in southern Yemen. This high-rise community is surrounded by a green and fertile oasis, carved out of the arid mountain landscape. Using traditional techniques of "stacking" layers of shrubs, vegetables, herbs and root crops grown together under a canopy of date palms, the oasis imitates the ecological structure of a forest.

When Islamic culture swept through North Africa and into southern Europe, the tradition of oasis gardens followed. The same principles were adopted by Christian monastic communities and adapted to temperate northern Europe as an orchard-based system.

These orchards, with their layers of fruits, nuts, vegetables and fodder crops, sustained pre-industrial European communities for centuries. The oasis-cum-orchard gardens are models for more modern, sustainable, human, food-producing habitats like permaculture and forest gardening.

Anthony Milroy, director of the Arid Lands Initiative, worked for four years in Yemen with farmers and communities struggling against environmental collapse wrought by deforestation, soil erosion and misguided aid programmes. He is transferring the wisdom of oasis horticulture from Shibam in the Wadi Hadraumaut to Salford in the Wadi Calder. The plan is to establish the oasis/orchard-based multi-layered garden system in the arid environment of inner cities.

Working with the tenants of Apple Tree Court, Milroy's team are helping develop the garden, which already has apple trees, veg plots and a pond. They plan an orchard-based forest garden and rooftop greenhouses. High-rise tenants, armed with tree-growing kits, are growing seedlings on their balconies. The local probation service provides community service labour.

It's early days yet for the urban oasis, but with 50 per cent of the world's population due to be living in cities by the year 2000, perhaps it will be coming to a run-down, arid, concrete desert somewhere near you.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE UNIQUE thrill of rubber bridge is the spectrum of emotions that a player can experience on even the most mundane-looking of hands. Follow the mood-swings of the West player on this deal from the high-stake game at TGR's. With both sides vulnerable, your hand is:

♠J 8 7 6 2 ♥A 5 ♦6 4 ♣K 7 6 3

North, on your left, opens with one diamond. East passes, and the immediate outlook is depressing since your opponents appear to have the balance of strength. South, on your right, bids one heart.

You toy fleetingly with the idea of overcalling one spade, but that would be irresponsible at any stakes, let alone those for which you are playing. You pass, resigned to watching North-South's auction from the sidelines.

North appears to be giving his next bid a lot of thought. He finally produces three spades, a conventional bid which — as you are well aware, but South tells you anyway — shows excellent heart support and a void or singleton in spades.

East passes, and South bids four no trumps. You know what that means — your opponents are going to end up in a small slam, and you are going to lose another sizeable rubber.

You pass, North bids five hearts to show two aces, and South bids six diamonds after a pass from East. You pass once more, wondering if perhaps East has the queen of clubs and will lead one, setting up a trick for your king while you still have the ace of hearts . . .

Your reverie is interrupted by the realisation that the auction is not over. North emerges from another trance with a bid so astounding that you can hardly believe your ears. North bids seven — yes, seven — hearts!

Well, you know what you are going to do when that comes round to you. But the surprises in this auction have only just begun, for it is East, your partner, who doubles seven hearts.

What would you make of that — apart from concluding that everyone at the table has taken leave of their senses?

East isn't doubling to save you the trouble, since he does not know you have the ace of trumps. His double asks you to find an unusual lead, and it seems fairly clear that he is void in diamonds.

South knows that as well as you do, so he removes seven hearts doubled to seven no trumps. It's your lead against this contract, as you have no difficulty in selecting a double. What would be your choice of lead?

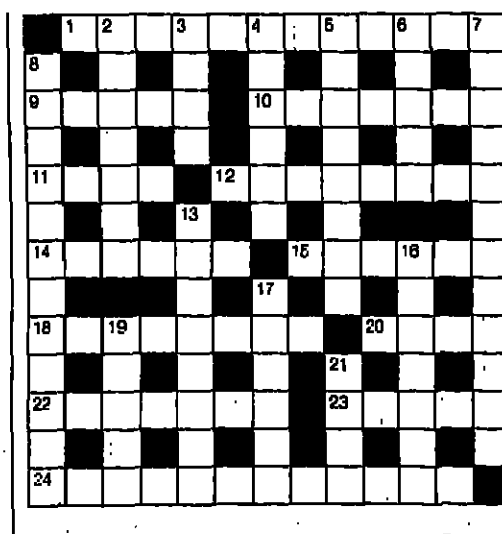
This is the full deal:

West	North	East
	♠K	
	♥K Q 10 3	
	♦A K J 8 5 2	
	♣A 10	
♠J 8 7 6 2		♠Q 10 9 5 4 3
♥A 5		♥8 4
♦6 4		♦None
♣K 7 6 3		♣J 9 8 5 2
	South	
	♠A	
	♥J 9 7 6 2	
	♦Q 10 9 7 3	
	♣Q 4	

You might perhaps reason that a lead from either black suit is not likely to cost your side the contract, since hearts are one of your opponents' main suits and it is wildly improbable that they will have 13 tricks outside hearts. But the ace of hearts is certainly an understandable choice.

At the table, West triumphantly cashed his ace against the doubled grand slam, and South claimed the rest of the tricks. West's euphoria was short-lived. "If you'd led a spade," remarked East, "we would have scored 1,400."

Quick crossword no. 287



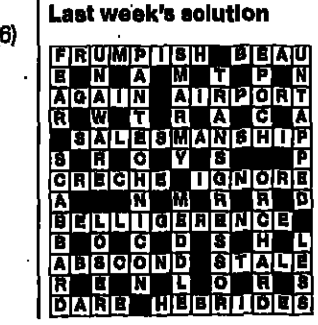
Across

1 Vacationist (12)
9 Indian corn (5)
10 Business — affair (7)
11 Whit (4)
12 Appetising drink (8)
14 Win over (6)
15 Flail (6)
18 Indian mausoleum (3,5)
20 Still — smooth (4)
22 View (7)
23 Hearing — test (5)
24 Small, sturdy horse breed (8,4)

Down

2 Left out (7)
3 Thought (4)
4 Receive (6)
5 Kingdom (8)
6 Genuflected (5)
7 Not unusual (3,2,3,4)
8 Equally skilful with both hands (12)
13 Stately (8)
16 Euphoria (7)
17 Billiards' shot (6)
19 Sap (5)
21 Stay — and finish (4)

Last week's solution



Chess Leonard Barden

PARADOXICALLY for a nation with one of the world's strongest chess teams, most of the UK's best international opens are now staged offshore. Guernsey has played since the seventies, the Isle of Lewis made a brilliant debut this year, but the event growing most impressively is the Isle of Man.

Its open, sponsored by Monarch Assurance, is now in its fourth year, with excellent playing conditions, enthusiastic organisers and a prize fund of £8,000 which attracted 11 grandmasters. It's not yet Lloyds Bank or Hastings, but it's on the way.

First Lalic, then Hodgson took clear leads before the pack caught them, and a tense final round ended in a five-way tie between Hodgson, Miles, Sadler, a Russian and an Israeli. Half a point behind, on 6/9, were the UK open specialists Howell, Arkell, Hebden and Wells. Edmund Player, 12, had a result of great promise, scoring 5/9 with a 200-plus grade and a draw with an IM.

Few if any sports outside chess allow unbroken multiple ties, so speed chess play-offs would improve Isle of Man 1996, when word of mouth for this well-run event should ensure a still larger entry.

Julian Hodgson-Igor Stohl, Trompovsky Opening

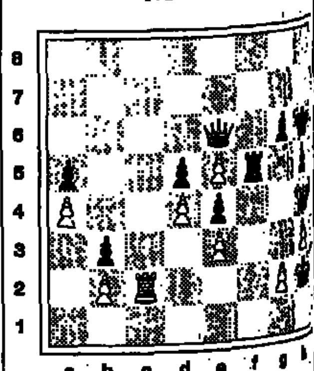
1 d4 Nf6 2 Bg5 Ten years ago this move was an opening byway; now it is main-line theory, thanks not least to Hodgson's successes. **c5 3 d5 Ne4 4 Bf4 Qb6 5 Bc1?!** An experiment to try to create a strong pawn centre, but 5 Qc1 may be better.

e6 6 f3 Nf6 7 c4 exd5 8 cxd5 c4! Stohl, the Slovak No 1, is ready for Hodgson's special battleground of obscure tactics. **9 e3 Qa5+ 10 Nc3 b5 11 Qd4 Bb4 12 Qe5+ Kf8 13 a3 Bb7 14 axb4!?** A typical sacrifice, diverting the BQ so as to attack the king. **Qxa1 15 Nge2 Qa6 16 Nd4 d6 17 Qf4 Qb6 18 Nf5 a5 19 Nxg7! Kxg7 20 Qg5+ Kf8 21 Qxf6 Rg8 22 Qh6+ Rg7 23 e4 Kg8!** Black defends coolly against Be3-d4.

24 Be3 Qd8 25 bxa5 Rxa5 26 Bd4 Rg6 27 Qd2 Nd7 28 h4 Nc5 29 h5 Rg5 30 Qf4? A blunder in an unclear position. Best seems 30 Qe3, to meet Nb3 by 31 Bb6. **Rxg2! 31 Nd1** After missing 31 Bxg2 Nd3+, White is scrambling to guard his back row.

Ra1? Simply Nd3+ 32 Bxd3 cxd3 looks good, eg 33 Bf6 Qb6 and Black's attack is faster. **32 b4 Rb1 33 Bxc5 c3 34 Rh2!** Cool defence. Black hoped for 34 Bxg2? c2. **Rd1 35 Qg3+!** Turning the tables, for Kf8 fails to 36 Bxd6+ Ke8 37 Bxb6 Kh8 and Black lost on time. White wins anyway by 36 Bd4+ f6 37 Qxd6.

No 2395



From M Aaron v F Ishaaq, India championship 1961. Queen-and-rook endings are notoriously tricky. Play continued 1 Rc6 Qg5 2 Qg8, Resigns. Can you suggest improvements?

No 2394: Black's king can only move between e5 and d4 while white knight tours: Na2-b4-a6-c5-e4-f2-... f4-g2-e1-f3 mate.

Outcry against Wembley bid

Lisa Buckingham and John Duncan

THE backlash against Wembley's bid for £108 million of lottery money to build a new national sports stadium gathered pace last week, with a London MP claiming the stadium management "couldn't run a whelk stall", City shareholders attacking "stupendous management weakness" and a football supporters' group expressing concern over the use of public money for a private company.

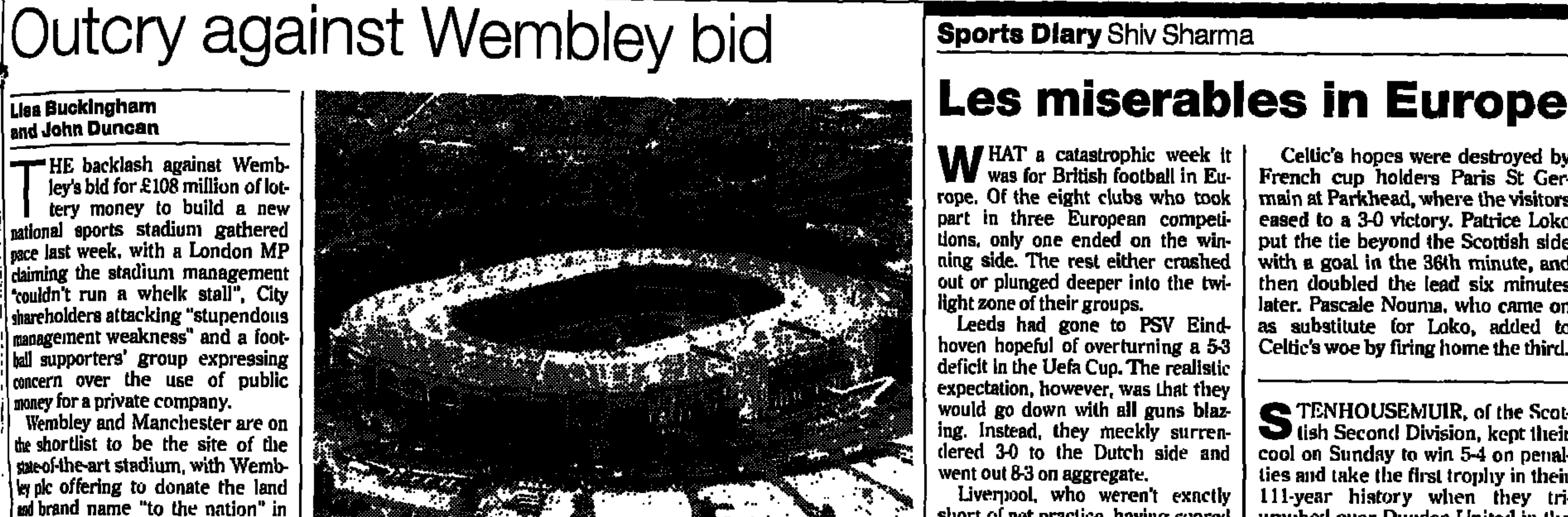
Wembley and Manchester are on the shortlist to be the site of the state-of-the-art stadium, with Wembley plc offering to donate the land and brand name "to the nation" in return for a 21-year contract to operate the facilities. However, critics have argued that this is simply a way for an ailing company to be bailed out by lottery funds.

Tony Banks, the Labour MP for Newham NE, called for a parliamentary debate on the whole issue.

"Why should we hand over large amounts of lottery money to an organisation that couldn't run a whelk stall and then put them in charge of it? Surely the idea is to go for an imaginative solution somewhere else in London, not a revamp of clapped out old Wembley?" he said.

Several City institutions are also sceptical about Wembley's credentials. "Given the track record of the place, I can understand the Sports' Council's uncertainty that giving this money will effectively be benefiting a private company," said one big City shareholder.

The influential Football Supporters' Association also has serious reservations. "If you want to look at whose bid is in the interests of football supporters, it's Manchester," said the chairman, Tim Crabbe. "There have to be guarantees from Wembley that the people who are paying for this stadium, the British public, are going to be protected and that it is not just Wembley plc's shareholders who are going to be looked after."


Wembley, under fire as site for new national sports stadium

Many Wembley investors saw their holdings effectively wiped out last year by a huge share issue. At one stage there were 5.5 billion shares. Earlier this year, investors were forced to put up another £130 million to help the company avoid bankruptcy. At their peak Wembley's debts stood at £150 million — the legacy of an ill-judged takeover spree in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which saw the self-styled "venue of legends" become the owner of businesses ranging from film-making and discos to ticket sales and catering.

Individual investors who had bought shares for up to 157p in the late 1980s found them becoming practically worthless as Wembley moved into the record books for issuing more shares than any other organisation in the history of the City.

The price Wembley had to pay for the City's support was the demotion of the chairman, Sir Brian Wolfson, to deputy chairman, and the introduction, over his head, of the Swedish businessman Claes Hultman. But, alarmingly for some, the rest of the management team remained.

Although Louis Freedman and Bob Heaver retired from the board in 1994 and Sir Peter Thompson and Alex McCrindle gave up their directorships earlier this year, other key figures remained.

● Manchester has won the race to stage the Commonwealth Games in 2002. The announcement, made in Bermuda, was greeted with a champagne celebration, music by school bands and fireworks in the city.

Football results and league tables

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Arsenal 1, Man Utd 0; Chelsea 0, Sheffield Wed 0, Coventry 2, Tottenham 3; Everton 1, Blackburn Rvrs 0: Man City 1, Bolton 0; Middlesbrough 1, Leeds Utd 1; Newcastle Utd 2, Liverpool 1; Nottm Forest 4, Wimbledon 1; Southampton 2, QPR 0, West Ham 1, Aston Villa 4.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Newcastle	12	10	1	1	29	9	31
Man Utd	12	8	2	2	23	12	26
Nottm Forest	12	6	6	0	23	13	24
Arsenal	12	7	3	2	16	6	24
Liverpool	12	7	2	3	25	10	23
Aston Villa	12	7	2	3	17	9	23
Middlesbrough	12	6	4	2	12	7	22
Leeds	12	6	3	3	18	14	21
Tottenham	12	5	4	3	19	16	19
Chelsea	12	4	4	4	11	14	16
Blackburn	12	4	2	6	16	16	14
West Ham	12	3	4	5	11	16	13
Everton	12	3	3	6	13	16	12
Sheff Wed	12	3	3	6	9	13	12
Southampton	12	3	3	6	13	20	12
QPR	12	3	1	8	10	19	10
Wimbledon	12	3	1	8	16	29	10
Bolton	12	2	2	8	12	23	8
Coventry	12	1	4	7	10	24	7
Man City	12	1	2	9	4	21	5

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division: Barnsley 1, Wolverhampton 0; Birmingham 2, Millwall 2; Charlton 1, Sunderland 1; C Palace 0, Reading 2; Huddersfield 3, Norwich 2; Ipswich 2, Grimsby 2; Oldham 2, Port Vale 2; Sheff Utd 4, Portsmouth 1; Stoke 5, Luton 0; Tranmere 5, Derby 1; Watford 2, Southend 2; West Brom 2, Leicester 3.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Millwall	15	8	5	2	19	13	29
Leicester	15	8	4	3	27	20	28
Birmingham	15	7	5	3	26	16	26
Sunderland	15	6	7	2	18	14	25
Tranmere	14	6	6	2	26	14	24
West Brom	15	7	3	5	22	18	24
Barnsley	15	6	4	5	22	27	22
Charlton	15	5	7	3	19	14	22
Oldham	15	5	6	4	21	17	21
Norwich	15	5	6	4	21	18	21
Huddersfield	15	6	3	6	20	22	21
Grimsby	15	5	6	4	16	17	21
Ipswich	15	5	5	5	26	23	20
Southend	15	5	4	6	14	18	19
Stoke	15	4	6	5	20	19	18
Reading	15	4	6	5	20	22	18
Derby	15	4	6	5	17	23	18
Wolverhampton	15	4	5	6	18	20	17
Crystal Palace	14	4	5	5	16	19	17
Watford	15	3	6	6	20	23	15
Sheff Utd	15	4	2	9	21	27	14
Portsmouth	15	3	4	8	20	27	13
Port Vale	15	2	6	7	14	20	12
Luton	15	3	3	9	10	22	12

Second Division: Brentford 0, Shrewsbury 2; Bristol Rvrs 1, Peterborough 1; Burnley 3, Notts Co 4; Carlisle 1, Brighton 0; Chesterfield 2, Bradford C 1; Hull 1, Wrexham 1; Oxford Utd 2, Bristol C 0; Rotherham 2, Crewe 2; Swansea 1, Wycombe 2; Swindon 1, Blackpool 1; Walsall 0, Bournemouth 0; York 2, Stockport 2.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Swindon	16	11	4	1	32	12	37
Crewe	15	9	4	2	30	16	31
Notts County	16	9	4	3	26	16	31
Wycombe	16	7	7	2	24	15	28
Blackpool	16	8	4	4	23	15	28
Chesterfield	16	8	3	5	23	15	27
Burnley	16	7	5	4	26	18	26
Bradford	16	7	3	6	23	25	24
Wrexham	16	6	6	4	21	20	24
Stockport	16	5	7	4	18	14	22
Bournemouth	16	6	4	6	18	19	22
Oxford Utd	16	5	6	5	20	18	21
Bristol Rovers	16	6	3	7	17	25	21
Shrewsbury	16	6	2	8	22	25	20
Rotherham	16	5	5	6	21	22	20
Peterborough	16	4	6	6	21	25	18
Swansea	16	4	6	6	18	22	18
Walsall	16	4	5	7	16	16	17
Bristol City	15	4	5	6	13	19	17
York	16	4	3	9	17	27	15
Brentford	16	4	3	9	12	22	15
Carlisle	16	3	5	8	16	25	14
Brighton	16	3	3	10	13	26	12
Hull	16	1	7	8	10	23	10

Third Division: Barnet 1, Doncaster 1; Bury 0, Darlington 0; Cambridge Utd 4, Scarborough 1; Chester 4, Torquay 1; Colchester 1, Exeter 1; Gillingham 0, Northampton 0; Hereford 0, Mansfield 1; Lincoln 1, Hartlepool 1; Plymouth 0, Cardiff 0; Preston 4, L Orient 0; Scunthorpe 1, Rochdale 3; Wigan 1, Fulham 1.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Preston	16	8	7	1	37	17	31
Chester	16	9	4	3	29	16	31
Gillingham	16	8	6	2	22	6	30
Rochdale	16	8	4	4	32	18	28
Colchester	16	7	6	3	25	17	27
Plymouth	16	7	4	5	27	19	25
Darlington	16	6	7	3	18	13	25
Doncaster	16	6	5	5	16	21	23
Cambridge Utd	16	6	4	6	27	27	22
Wigan	16	5	6	5	21	21	21
Bury	16	5	6	5	20	25	21
Scunthorpe	16	5	5	6	23	19	20
Leyton Orient	16	5	5	6	18	21	20
Exeter	16	4	8	4	17	20	20
Hereford	16	4	7	5	20	20	19
Northampton	16	5	4	7	18	18	19
Fulham	16	3	9	4	21	20	18
Scarborough	16	4	6	6	18	23	18
Hartlepool	16	4	6	6	14	23	18
Mansfield	16	3	8	5	22	31	17
Cardiff	16	4	5	7	15	17	17
Barnet	16	3	7	6	15	23	16
Lincoln	16	2	5	9	14	33	11
Torquay	16	2	4	10	16	37	10

SCOTTISH LEAGUE CHALLENGE CUP Final: Dundee Utd 0, Stenhousemuir 0 (aet; Stenhousemuir won 5-4 on pens)

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Aberdeen 1, Hibernian 2; Hearts 3, Partick 0; Kilmarnock 5, Raith 1; Motherwell 0, Celtic 2; Rangers 2, Falkirk 0.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Rangers	11	9	1	1	24	5	28
Celtic	11	7	3	1	18	8	24
Hibernian	11	6	4	1	20	13	22
Aberdeen	11	5	1	5	18	15	16
Raith	11	4	1	6	15	21	13
Kilmarnock	11	3	2	6	12	16	11
Hearts	11	3	2	6	17	23	11
Motherwell	11	2	4	5	11	15	10
Partick	11	2	4	5	9	19	10
Falkirk	11	2	2	7	8	17	8

SCOTTISH LEAGUE: First Division: Dumbarton 1, St Johnstone 3; Dunfermline 1, St Mirren 1; Greenock Morton 2, Airdrie 1; Hamilton 1, Dundee 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Dunfermline (played 12, points 25); 2, Dundee Utd (12-25); 3, Gr Morton (12-23).

Second Division: Ayr 1, Stirling 2; Clyde 3, Montrose 0; East Fife 3, Stranraer 3; Queen of South 1, Forfar 1. **Leading positions:** 1, East Fife (12-27); 2, Berwick (12-22); 3, Stirling (12-20).

Third Division: Albion Rvrs 3, Ross County 4; Alloa 0, Livingston 2; Brechin C 2, Cowdenbeath 0; Caledonian T 5, Arbroath 1; East Stirling 1, Queen's Pk 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Livingston (12-29); 2, Ross County (12-22); 3, Caledonian T (12-21).

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Les miserables in Europe

WHAT a catastrophic week it was for British football in Europe. Of the eight clubs who took part in three European competitions, only one ended on the winning side. The rest either crashed out or plunged deeper into the twilight zone of their groups.

Leeds had gone to PSV Eindhoven hopeful of overturning a 5-3 deficit in the Uefa Cup. The realistic expectation, however, was that they would go down with all guns blazing. Instead, they meekly surrendered 3-0 to the Dutch side and went out 8-3 on aggregate.

Liverpool, who weren't exactly short of net practice, having scored 10 goals in two games against Premiership basement dwellers Manchester City, found Brondby, who lie second in the Danish league, no pushovers. Playing on home territory, the Anfield players had the Danes on the rack for most of the match.

But while possession is one thing, what you do with it is quite another. Whatever little control of the ball the visitors got, they put to devastating effect. On a rare excursion into the Liverpool half, Eggen headed the only goal in the 78th minute, killing off a rampant Liverpool.

Raith Rovers, also saddled with deficit from the first leg of the tie, gave Bayern Munich a fright when they took the lead in the 42nd minute. It gave them confidence and they forced three corners at the start of the second half. But Jürgen Klinsmann hit back for the Germans and Babbel added another eight minutes later to make it 2-1 and the end of the road for Rovers.

Nottingham Forest secured a place in the last 16 with a goalless draw against Auxerre of France. It was sheer doggedness and determination on the part of the Forest players which brought them a 1-0 aggregate victory. In a nail-biting game they repeatedly held off Auxerre whose fluid movement and mobile marauding had laid siege to the Forest area for much of the game.

"People will have to take notice of us now," said Forest's jubilant manager Frank Clark after the match. In the next round Forest will play French first division side Lyons, who won through 4-1 on aggregate against Italian giants Lazio.

In the European Cup Champions' League, Blackburn suffered further frustration as Legia Warsaw held out for a point at Ewood Park. Chances were few and far between for the home side due to the Poles' solid defence and the goalless draw means that Blackburn will not progress further, even though they have two group B matches to play.

In group C, Juventus dealt a serious blow to Rangers' interest in the competition with an accomplished 4-0 victory at Ibrox. The Scottish champions must beat Steaua Bucharest and Borussia Dortmund in their last two games to have any chance of joining Juventus in the next round.

Everton were next to join the exodus from Europe after being beaten at home in the European Cup Winners's Cup by Feyenoord, one goal deciding the match. Joe Royle's men put the Dutch side under pressure for large periods of the game but could not snatch the away goal that would have put them through. Regi Blinker hit the winner in the 40th minute.

Celtic's hopes were destroyed by French cup holders Paris St Germain at Parkhead, where the visitors eased to a 3-0 victory. Patrice Loko put the tie beyond the Scottish side with a goal in the 36th minute, and then doubled the lead six minutes later. Pascale Nouma, who came on as substitute for Loko, added to Celtic's woe by firing home the third.

STENHOUSEMUIR, of the Scottish Second Division, kept their cool on Sunday to win 5-4 on penalties and take the first trophy in their 111-year history when they triumphed over Dundee United in the Scottish League Challenge Cup. The final had been goalless after extra-time.

JONATHAN DAVIES, the most gifted Welsh rugby player of his generation, made history by coming the first player to move from league to union for a fee. Nearly seven years after joining Warrington, he returned to Cardiff in a £60,000 deal completed only hours before the Welsh Rugby Union's league registration deadline. "I cannot believe that it has happened," said the 33-year-old Davies. "Even three months ago the prospect of a move to Cardiff would have been a ridiculous dream." Davies played for Neath and Llanelli and won 27 Wales caps, leading his country on three occasions. On Sunday he inspired his new club to a 57-9 victory over Aberavon.

RIDDICK BOWE battled his way to victory over old adversary Evander Holyfield with an eighth-round stoppage in Las Vegas. The referee stepped in after Holyfield had been knocked down twice in the third battle between the two former world heavyweight champions. Bowe found himself on the canvas for the first time in his career in the sixth round, but recovered from the setback to exert his authority.

MICHAEL CAMPBELL equalled the course record and broke his duck with a decisive win in the Alfred Dunhill Masters in Jakarta. The 26-year-old New Zealander shot a 65 to finish with a 21-under-par 267, five strokes ahead of Craig Parry of Australia and Mark Mouland of Britain.

ROSS NORMAN, the New Zealand squash player who caused a sensation in 1986 when he won the World Open title at Toulouse by beating Pakistan's Jahangir Khan, who himself had been unbeaten for five years and seven months, is retiring from the game at the age of 37 because of tendinitis in the arm.

JOHN RODDA, who has been digging out the inside stories on boxing, athletics and sports politics for the past 36 years for the Guardian, is retiring. Known in the trade as JR, he first wrote for the then Manchester Guardian way back in the mists of the winter of 1952. Rodda went full-time in 1959 and, starting with Rome in 1960, covered no fewer than nine Olympic Games.